

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

892.79(T)

ISF 4

V. 2

31249

(Translations of the three Inscriptions
on the Cover.)

1. Arabic.

“These are our works which prove
what we have done;
Look, therefore, at our works
when we are gone.”

2. Turkish.

“His genius cast its shadow o'er the world,
And in brief time he much achieved and
wrought:
The Age's Sun was he, and aging suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be
short.”

(*Kemál Páshá-zádé.*)

3. Persian.

“When we are dead, seek for our
resting-place
Not in the earth, but in the
hearts of men.”

(*Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.*)

“*E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL*”

SERIES.

VOL. II.

"*E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL*" SERIES.

1. *The Bábar-náma, reproduced in Fac-Simile from a MS. belonging to the late Sir Sálár Jang of Haydarábád, and edited with Preface and Indexes, by Annette S. Beveridge, 1905.*
2. *An abridged translation of Ibn Isfandiyár's History of Ṭabaristán, by Edward G. Browne.*

IN PREPARATION

The Mu'ajjam fí Ma'áyírí Ash'ári'l-'Ajám of Shams-i-Qays, edited from the British Museum MS. (OR. 2814) by Edward G. Browne.

Part of the History of the Mongols, from the Jámí'u 't-Tawárikh of Rashídú'd-Dín Fadlu'llah, beginning with the account of Ogotáy, edited by E. Blochet.

An abridged translation of the Ihyá'u'l-Mulük, a Persian History of Sistán by Sháh Husayn, from the British Museum MS. (OR. 2779), by A. G. Ellis. •

The geographical part of the Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfi of Qazwín, with a translation, by G. Le Strange.

Yáqút's Dictionary of Learned Men, entitled Irshádu'l-arób ila ma'rifati 'l-adób; Vol. I, edited from the Bodleian MS., by D. S. Margoliouth, D. Litt.

AN
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION
OF THE
HISTORY OF TABARISTĀN
COMPILED ABOUT A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216)
BY
MUHAMMAD B. AL-HASAN B. ISFANDIYĀR,
BASED ON THE INDIA OFFICE MS.
COMPARED WITH TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
BY
EDWARD G. BROWNE, M. A., M. B.,
SIR THOMAS ADAMS' PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AND FELLOW OF PEMBROKE
COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, FELLOW
OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE
“E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL”.

LEYDEN: E. J. BRILL, IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE.
LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY.

1905

PRINTED BY F. J. BRILL. — LEYDEN (Holland).

*This Volume is one
of a Series
published by the Trustees of the
“E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL.”*

*The Funds of this Memorial are derived from the Interest accruing
from a Sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to
perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son*

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

تَلْكَ آنَارُنَا نَدْلُّ عَلَيْنَا ، فَانظُرُوا نَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْأَتَارِ ،

*"The worker pays his debt to Death,
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."*

The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq Ḥāmid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.

جله یاری و فاسیله ایدرکن نطیب
کندی عمرینه وفا گورمی اول ذاتِ ادب
محکم ایکن اولمش ایدی اوج کاله واصل
نه اولوردی یاشامش او لسه ایدی مستر گیب

"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL":
ORIGINAL TRUSTEES.

[*JANE GIBB, died November 26, 1904*],
E. G. BROWNE,
G. LE STRANGE,
H. F. AMEDROZ,
A. G. ELLIS,
R. A. NICHOLSON,
E. DENISON ROSS,
AND
IDA W. E. GIBB, appointed 1905.

CLERK OF THE TRUST.

JULIUS BERTRAM,
14, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall,
LONDON, S.W.

PUBLISHERS FOR THE TRUSTEES.

E. J. BRILL, LEYDEN.
B, QUARITCH, LONDON.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The aim of this book is a comparatively humble one, and even of this aim, now that it is completed, I fear that it may have fallen short. It was originally undertaken, not because I had made or intended to make any special study of Tabaristán, but in the search for fresh materials for the second volume of the *Literary History of Persia* on which I am still engaged. We are still far from having arrived at a point where, supplied with ample materials, and certain that no important ascertainable fact has eluded our knowledge, we can venture to dogmatise or generalise on the intellectual life and spiritual development of the Persians. Often the student of Persian must wait for months ere he can consult even the most important and indispensable histories, such as the *Jámi‘u ’t-Tawárikh* of Rashídu’d-Dín Faḍlu’lláh, or the *Ta’rikh-i-Jahángusháy* of ‘Atá Malik-i-Juwayní; and, while thus waiting, he will take such opportunities as may happen to present themselves of acquainting himself with the contents of those little-read local and special histories of which some are to be found in every large collection of Muhammadan manuscripts, and which constantly supply details, wanting in the larger general histories, of considerable value for illustrative purposes.

Much has been done, especially by the Russians, towards supplying full materials for a history of the Caspian provinces of Persia, Gílán and Mázandarán. Between the years 1850 and 1858 Dorn published a whole series of works on this subject: first his *Geschichte Tabaristan’s und der Serbedare*

nach Chondemir; then four volumes of texts, of which the first was Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín al-Mar'ashí's *History of Tabaristán, Rúyán and Mázandarán*, composed about A.D. 1476; the second, 'Alí b. Shamsu'd-Dín's *History of Gilán*, known as the *Tárikh-i-Khání*, which is a continuation of the last-mentioned work to A.D. 1514; then Ibnu'l-Fattáh al-Fúmaní's *History of Gilán* (from A.D. 1517—1628); and lastly a volume of extracts from the writings of twenty-two Arabic and Persian authors who have incidentally treated of matters connected with these provinces. Another most valuable work which I have constantly consulted during the preparation of this volume is Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, oder die Nordprovinzen Persiens* (Leipzig, 1868). Even for the dialect of Mázandarán more has probably been done than for any other local idiom of Persia, notably by the two Russian scholars mentioned above.

Separated from the rest of Persia by the lofty barrier of the Elburz Mountains, culminating in the great cone of Damáwand (Dunbáwand), the Caspian provinces have always possessed, to a certain extent, a history and character apart. Long after the Sásánian dynasty had fallen and the rest of Persia had been subdued by the Arabs, the *Ispahbads* continued to strike their Pahlawí coinage and maintain the religion of Zoroaster in the mountains and forests of Tabaristán; and their struggles against the Arabs were only ended about A.D. 838 by the capture and cruel execution of the gallant Mázyár, the son of Qárin, the son of Wandá-Hurmuz. Twenty-five years later was established the Shí'ite rule of the *Zaydí Sayyids*, which lasted till A.D. 928; and these were followed by the noble house of *Ziyár*, of whom Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús was especially conspicuous for his literary eminence. Even after the disastrous Mongol invasion, representatives of the ancient aristocracy of Tabaristán continued to wield a more or less considerable power.

Of this strange and interesting country the clearest and most ineffaceable recollection must remain in the mind of every traveller who has visited it. I merely traversed it in about a week on my homeward journey from Persia in the autumn of 1888, yet of no part of that journey do I preserve a more vivid impression; the first entry, from the great stony plain of 'Iráq-i-'Ajamí into the lower hills at Ágh, with its rippling streams and almost English hedge-rows; the long winding climb to the eastern shoulder of the mighty Damáwand; the deep cañons of the Lár; the Alpine beauties of René; the gradual descent, through rock-walled valleys, into virgin forests, bright with the red blossoms of the wild pomegranate, and carpeted with ferns and mosses; the sluggish streams and stagnant pools of the coast-ward fenlands; ancient Ámul, with its long slender bridge; Bárfurúsh and the swampy rice-fields of Shaykh Tabarsí, memorable in the history of the Bábí religion; and the sandy downs towards the Caspian Sea.

Of this land the author of this book, Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. Isfandiyár — generally known, for the sake of brevity, as Ibn Isfandiyár —, is the earliest systematic historian whose work has come down to us. Of his life we know practically nothing save what he himself tells us at the beginning of his work (pp. 3—4 *infra*), while the few written sources from which, as he informs us, he derived his material — notably the *Báwānd-náma* and the *'Uqúd of Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad al-Yazdádí* — appear also to be lost. Dorn (*Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan u.s.w.*, p. 6) gives A.D. 1216 as the date at which he composed his history, that is to say, 260 years before Dhahíru'd-Dín, who, as Dorn points out, made such free use of his materials. Were this use so free (which it is not) as to amount to complete plagiarism (a thing by no means unknown in Persian literature), it might render the publication of Ibn Isfandiyár's

book in the original a work of supererogation; but even then, I venture to think, an abridged English translation like the present might have its uses. If it does nothing else, it may save other students of Persian the trouble of reading the original, or the disappointment of seeking from the book more than it contains.

The best translation, however, cannot take the place of a good text, and the publication of a complete and carefully collated text can alone be regarded as a final and definitive piece of work; since even if the translator could be certain that he had in every case fully apprehended the author's meaning, this assurance could not be shared by others to whom the original was inaccessible. This objection applies with still greater force to an abridged or condensed translation like the present, since the process of condensation is sure to be unevenly applied, according to the personal bias and proclivities of the translator. To me, for instance, all that throws fresh light on the literary history or intimate life of Persia is of extreme value; while the wars of rival princes and governors, when arising, so far as can be judged, from mere personal ambition, and not from conflicting ideals of nationality or religion, are comparatively unimportant, because unconnected with any essential antithesis. All that concerns Mázyár, for example, is to me of supreme interest, because he stands for the old Persian national and religious ideal, while the internecine struggles which mark the decline of the Seljúq power, and in which I can discern no underlying principle, appear merely as wearisome enumerations of irrelevant details. Yet to another, who regarded Persian history from a different point of view, the military or the political, for instance, the very matters over which I have passed so lightly might seem all-important.

I need say little more in this Preface. Profiting by the liberality of the India Office Library, which stands in such

noble contrast to the retrograde and obscurantist policy of several of the most important libraries in this country, I have been able to read through a comparatively rare work which cannot be ignored by the student of Persian history. As I read, I endeavoured to abstract from it, primarily for my own use, all that seemed to me of interest or importance. This abstract I had at first no intention of publishing; but the foundation by the liberality of the late Mrs Jane Gibb of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", intended not only to perpetuate the memory of her son's rare scholarship and single-hearted devotion to learning, but to carry on such work as he loved and promote such aims as he so steadily pursued, created, almost for the first time in this country, facilities for the publication of works dealing with the history of Western and Central Asia actually in excess, for the time being, of the supply of such works. Under these circumstances, with the approval of the other Trustees of the Memorial, I decided to revise for the Press this abstract originally prepared only for my own personal use. In the work of revision I have received the most generous and invaluable help from Mr A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, whose knowledge of Muhammadan literature and bibliography surpasses, so far as I can judge, that of any other living European scholar. Notwithstanding his onerous duties and scanty leisure, he has read almost every sheet of the book before it was printed off; and to him I am indebted not only for the numerous foot-notes followed by his initials, and the observations on pp. 271—280, but also for the correction of many errors which would otherwise have marred these pages. I desire to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for this and numerous other obligations under which he has laid me.

With the Index (the most important part of such a book as this) I have taken considerable pains; and with its help

it will, I think be easy for any Persian scholar to find any passage which he may wish to consult, not only in the India Office Codex which forms the basis of my work, but in any other manuscript which he may have at his disposal. Certain names occur so often that, without a more profound knowledge of the history of Ṭabaristán than I possess, it is often difficult to determine questions of identity. Hence, in all doubtful cases, I have placed in brackets after the name a Roman number indicating the century of the Christian era in which the person referred to appears to have flourished.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,
May 10, 1905*

Bibliography. Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels* (London 1821), vol. ii, p. 214, vol. iii, pp. 304, 308, 554 etc.; Idem, *Catalogue of several hundred manuscript works etc.* (London 1821), N°. 283, p. 450; Dorn's *Schir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan* (St. Petersburg, 1850), pp. 3—6; Spiegel, in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1850 (vol. iv), pp. 62—71; Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202—204; Ethé's *Bodleian Persian Catalogue*, pp. 160—161; Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, pp. 222—223.

Manuscripts N°. 1134 of the India Office (= N°. 568 in Ethé's *Catalogue*), dated A II. 1032 (= A). Add. 7633 of the British Museum, dated A. II. 1067 (= B), and Or. 2778, dated A. II. 1273 (= C). N°. 307 (= Ouseley 214) of the Bodleian, dated A. H. 1068 (= D). Also a MS. in the Library of the St. Petersburg University, and a transcript of the same, collated by Dorn with the London MSS., in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. Another MS., dated A. H. 1295, which belonged to the late M. Ch. Schefei, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and bears the class-mark *Suppl. Pers. 1436*.

A portion of the text (corresponding with f. 6^b, l. 4—f. 20^b, l. 5 of A), containing the letter of Aīdashí Bábakan's minister Tansai to Jasnasf, king of Tabaristán, cited by the author on the authority of the celebrated 'Abdu'lláh ibnū'l-Muqaffa', was published with a French translation in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series ix, Vol. 3, pp. 185—250 and 502—555) by the late M. James Daimesteter, who found the India Office MS. greatly superior in point of correctness to the British Museum Codex of which he made use.

The only other portion of the text (corresponding with f. 155^a, l. 17—f. 157^b, l. 12) which, so far as I know, has been published and translated is the account of Firdawṣí cited from the *Chahár Maqála* of Niḍhámí-i-Ārudí of Samāqand, which Dr. Ethé transcribed for Professor Nöldeke's use, and afterwards published in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, vol. XLVIII, pp. 89—94.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

After the customary doxology, the author, Muḥammed b. al-Hasan b. Isfandiyár, states that, on returning from Baghdad to 'Iráq in the year A. H. 606 (= A. D. 1209—1210), he was overwhelmed with grief at the news of the murder of Rustam b. Ardashír b. Hasan b. Rustam, the ruler of Ṭabaristán, on the 21st of Shawwál in that year (April 1, A. D. 1210), on which he exclaims:

سَلَامٌ عَلَى قَوْمٍ مَصْوَاتِهِمْ فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا ذِكْرُهُمْ وَحَدْنِيهِمْ
نَفْدٌ جَمِيعِهِمْ سَرَرَهُ الْمَوْتُ فَاسْتَوْيَ فَدِيمُهُمْ فِي شَأْنِهِمْ وَحَدْنِيهِمْ

For two months (f. 3a) he remained in Ray, weighed down with sorrow, and finding his only consolation in the perusal of books. One day he found in the library of the College founded by the Shahinshah Rustam b. Shahriyár a few quires on the history of Gawbára, and thereupon remembered that the late king Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír had repeatedly enquired of him whether he had ever come across any mention of a king of Ṭabaristán called Gáwbára in Arabic or Persian books (f. 3b), to which he was obliged to reply that he had not, and that he knew of no history of Ṭabaristán save the *Báwand-náma*, a work filled with fables and popular legends compiled for the king Husámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin. On examining these quires, he found them to contain the "*Uqídú sihr wa galídú durar*" of Abu'l-Hasan Muhammad Yazdádí, a work wherein the author sought rather to display his mastery over the Arabic language than to impart information to the reader. This he translated into

Persian, adding to it some account of king Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír and his illustrious ancestors, and, encouraged by some of his literary friends, he was preparing to make a fair copy of his rough draft when he received a letter from his father warning him of his approaching end. Thereupon he at once started (f. 4b) with a single servant for his home, without saying good bye to any one, and by the morning of the following day reached the castle of Ustúnáwand¹, where he was set upon and robbed by brigands. He ultimately, however, reached his father, and remained for a while at Amul in Mázandarán, whence, after a short time, he journeyed to Khwárazm (f. 5a), at that time a most flourishing and populous city, where he remained for five years. One day he found in a bookseller's shop there a volume containing ten separate treatises, one of which was a translation from Hindí into Arabic (از هندو بنزی) made for a native of Sind named 'Alá b. Sa'íd by a certain Dá'úd of Yazd in the year A. H. 197 (= A. D. 812—813), while another was a translation from Pahlawí into Arabic, made by the celebrated 'Abdu'lláh ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c († circ. A. D. 760), of the answer returned to Jasnafsháh, Prince of Ṭabaristán, by Tansar of Párs, the chief *herbad* (هرباء) of Ardashír Bábakán, the founder of the Sásánian dynasty. These also the author used for the compilation of his work, which he constructed on the following plan (f. 5b):

Section I. On the first foundation of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán.

Ch. I. Translation of the above-mentioned tract of ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c.

Ch. II. First settlement of Ṭabaristán and its cities.

Ch. III. Virtues and marvels of Ṭabaristán.

Ch. IV. Its princes, nobles, doctors, hermits, writers,

¹ See M. Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33.

physicians, astronomers, philosophers, poets and notable men.

Section II. History of the rise and continuance of the dynasties of Washmgír and Buwayh in Ṭabaristán. . . .

• *Section III.* How Ṭabaristán passed from Núshírwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, the last prince of the House of Washmgír, to the kings of the Houses of Ghazna and Seljúq.

Section IV. From the beginning of the second ascendancy of the House of Báwand to their decline and fall.

Section I, ch. I.

This section opens with a short biography (ff. 5 δ —6 δ) of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c. His proper name, says the author, was 'Abdu'lláh, and his father Dádawayh (Dádú'ê) was a Magian by religion, and one of the fiscal agents of the Arab government in Fárs. Being accused of embezzlement, he was tortured so that his skin was shrivelled and contracted (*taqaffa^cat*), for which reason he received the *sobriquet* of *al-Muqaffa^c*, "the Shrivelled". His son 'Abdu'lláh, better known as Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c, was converted to Islám by 'Alí b. 'Isá (f. 6 α), the primary cause of his conversion being the impression produced on him by the seventh and following verses of Súra LXXVIII of the Qur'án, which he heard a child reciting aloud. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Khalíl b. Ahmad al-Furhúdī¹. A certain man of learning was asked his opinion concerning them. He replied, "Khalíl's understanding exceeds his learning, while Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c's learning exceeds his understanding". One day Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c, while passing by a fire-temple, recited this verse:

يَا بَيْتَ عَانِكَةَ الَّنْبِيِّ أَتَغْرِيْ خَدَرَ الْعَدَى وَيَهِ الفَوَادُ مُوَكِّلٌ

¹ See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. I, p. 493—498, especially the last paragraph on p. 495.

When this was reported to the Caliph he said, "He is not yet a good Muslim," and ordered him to be cast alive into an oven. It is related by al-Jáhidh¹ in his *Kitábú 'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* that when Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c was handed over to the tormentor (صاحب مسخرة), he said to him, "Thou hast money and wealth; if thou wilt pay into the Exchequer the sum demanded from me, I will return you double or treble the amount, and will never divulge the matter, for thou knowest me faithful in the guarding of secrets." The tormentor, moved by coveteousness, paid the money and saved him from death and torture. It is also related [apparently by al-Jáhidh] that a certain Háshim, gaoler to Yúsuf 'Umar [ath-Thaqafi], used to keep a register of all the prisoners who had died in prison, and submit it to Yúsuf. 'Abdu'lláh b. Abí Burda [b.] Abí Músá al-Ash'arí, being in prison, offered this man a thousand *dirhams* to include his name in this list (f. 6b), and so effect his release. This was done, but the Amír, on receiving the report, said, "Bring his corpse before me." So the gaoler, being afraid, went back to the prison and smothered him with a cushion, so that his device cost him both his money and his life².

[Here follows the translation of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c's version of Tansar's letter to Jasnásf, the king of Tabaristán. As this portion of the work has been published and translated, with excellent notes and comments, by the late Professor James Darmesteter (*Journal Asiatique* for 1894, series IX, vol. iii, pp. 185—250 and 502—555), it is omitted in this abstract. That this document rests on an authentic basis seems to be beyond doubt. See Darmesteter, loc. cit., pp. 185—192.]

¹ Abú 'Uthmán 'Amr b. Bah̄r al-Jáhidh of Başra was a prolific and learned writer, and died in A. H. 255 = A. D. 869. For a list of his works, see Carl Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 152—153. For MSS. of the *Kitábú 'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* preserved in the Constantinople librairies, see the *J. R. A. S.* for Jan. 1901, p. 172. It was printed in Cairo in A. H. 1313.

² [Cf. Ibn Khallikán, de Slane's translation, Vol. IV, pp. 441—442. A. G. E.]

(F. 20b). The kingdom of Tabaristán remained in the hands of Jasnasf's descendants until the time of Píruz († A. D. 484), but when the Turks invaded Khurásán and the confines of Tabaristán in the reign of his son Qubád (Kawádh, A. D. 488—531), it was decided in Council that Kayús (کیوس)¹, the King's eldest son, should be appointed ruler of that province. So matters remained till the glorious reign of Núshírwán, concerning whom Jábir b. 'Abdi'lláh al-Ansári questioned the Prophet of God, saying, "How hath God dealt with Kisrá and Caesar?" The Prophet answered, "I asked my brother Gabriel this same question, and he said, 'I was desirous to ask God concerning this matter, when behold, a voice came from God's Throne, saying, "I would not torment in hell-fire kings who made my lands flourishing and my servants prosperous.''" The Umayyad Caliphs (f. 21a), on the other hand, though they professed Islám, are universally condemned for their tyranny and injustice.

One of the early Persian converts to Islám, in answer to the enquiries of the Prophet's companions as to which was the greatest and best of their kings, named Árdashír Bábakán, in proof of whose wisdom and clemency he related the following anecdote. Once, in a year of drought, the people petitioned him for help. Thereupon he issued this proclamation: "When rain is scarce, the rain-clouds of the King are generous, therefore distribute amongst them what they have lost." Núshírwán (A. D. 531—578) imitated him in maintaining good practices and suppressing evil innovations, and was especially opposed to the promotion of persons of mean origin to positions of trust, as is shewn by the following anecdote².

¹ See Noldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, pp. 147, n. 1, and 436a.

² Cf. p. 608 of Zotenberg's ed. and transl. of ath-Thálibi's *Histoire des Rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900). Cf. also Darmesteter in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series IX, Vol. iii), p. 519. An Arabic version of the story is given in Vol. ii of the *Majáni'l-Adab*, pp. 208—209.

Anecdote.

King Núshírwán, being once in need of money for a campaign, instructed his minister to raise the sum required by a loan from the merchants and capitalists. The minister accordingly consulted one of the chief merchants, who at once offered himself to pay the money into the Royal Treasury, asking in return that his only son, a man of remarkable intelligence, in whose education he had for thirty years spared no pains, might be admitted to the government service (f. 22a), and given a suitable rank and title. When this proposal was submitted to the king, he replied, "When the children of the base-born are educated, they seek high offices, obtaining which they seek to abase the noble and the well-born, and to humble the great and mighty, but I will protect the honour of the noble from being shared by base and evil men." The merchant, on hearing this answer, was deeply disappointed, but entreated the minister at least to accept the money, and to honour him by being his guest at a banquet. To this the minister consented, and on the morrow was entertained at an epoch-making banquet (كَتَّاف). When evening approached (وَنَجَمَ الظَّلَيْلُ هَلَّ), wine was brought in, and they sat down to drink. A lamp-stand was set down before the minister, and, at a sign from the merchant, a trained cat ran in, lifted up this lamp-stand in its two paws, and placed it on its head, where it held it. The minister at once perceived that the merchant's object in this exhibition was to say by implication, "If I can so train and educate a cat, which has no rational soul (f. 22b), how can it be supposed that I should fail in the case of my own son, who is endowed with so many natural talents?" Thereupon the minister secretly ordered one of his companions to go and fetch a mouse and shew it to the cat. As soon as the cat saw it, it dropped the lamp

and rushed towards the mouse; the lamp-oil was upset, some of it on the clothes and hair of the guests. The merchant, overcome with shame, would have retired to his private appartments, but the minister summoned him and said, "I have no doubt as to your son's capacity or training, but at the first promotion which he gets, he will make such disturbance as did this cat at the sight of the mouse." It has been said:

لَوْلَا مُعْفُولٌ لَكَانَ أَدْنَى ضَبْغَمِ
أَدْنَى إِلَى شَرِيفٍ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ

and again:

الْكَلْبُ كَلْبٌ وَلَنْ كَانْتْ فِلَادَتْهُ صُفْرَ الْكَنَافِيرِ أَوْ حُمَرَ الْيَوَاقِيتِ

Though Sámírî's Calf (f. 23a) was of gold, it was only a calf.

لِنَّ الْحِمَارَ وَلَوْ يُحَوِّلُ فِضَّةً أَوْ صِبَعَ مِنْ نَهْبٍ لَكَانَ حِمَارًا .

Here follows a further dissertation on the impossibility of "making a silk purse out of a sow's ear", concluding with the verse:

از کوشش واژ دویدن و خدمت کس
افزون نشود بذرۀ فسمت کس

Anecdote.

It is related that one day 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aşma', seeing the poet al-Attábi in the presence of Faḍl b. Rabī', reproached him for wearing such shabby clothes; whereupon the other retorted that a delight in fine apparel was only for women, and that a man was exalted by greatness of heart and high resolve, a silent tongue and an unselfish spirit (f. 23b).

فَكَمْ مِنْ سُيُوفٍ جَفَنْهُنَّ مُمْزقٌ دَكَمْ مِنْ ثِيَابٍ تَحْتَهُنَّ تُبُوسٌ

Man is not ennobled by wealth:

مَلَ أَكْرَمِيْلُ خَرَانِ نَشَّى حَلْفَةَ فَرْجٍ اسْتَرَانِ نَشَّى

Here follow short and rather irrelevant anecdotes of sundry Súfí saints, *viz.* Hátím “the deaf” (*al-Asamm*), Báyazíd of Bisṭám and Abú Sa‘íd Khwár (f. 24a), followed by reflections on Divine Providence and human effort, and the depravity and rebelliousness natural to man when his affairs prosper.

بَسِّرَمَا وَگَرَمَا جَنَانَ نَا شَكِيْيِي كَه اَزْ خَانَه نَّاتَيْ هَمِي تَا بِرْزَنْ
زَگَرَمَا بَسِّرَزِي زَسِّرَمَا عَيْرِي مَگَسْ گَشِي اَيْ روْسِيْيِي خَواهِرِ وزَنْ

‘Amír b. ‘Abd Qays used to say (f. 24b) that though all wordly wealth should depart from him he would be fearful, because of three verses in the Qur’án (xi, 8; xxxv, 2; and x, 107). More traditions on the Divine Providence follow; *e.g.*:

الرِّزْقُ بَطْلُبُ الْعَبْدَ كَمَا بَطْلَبَهُ أَجْلَهُ
إِنِّي لَا عَلَمُ وَالْأَفْدَارُ جَارَةٌ أَنَّ الَّذِي هُوَ رِزْقِي سَوْفَ بَأْتِينِي

Here follow anecdotes of Sufyán-i-Thawrí and Málík Dínár, two famous Súfí saints (f. 25a), and of Abú ‘Abdi'r-Rahmán Ziyád b. An‘am al-Ifríqí. The latter was in earlier life a fellow-student of Abú Ja‘far al-Mansúr, afterwards second Caliph of the House of ‘Abbás. One day Mansúr invited him to a meal at his lodging. The meal was of the simplest: there was no meat, no sweets, not even dates. Mansúr, on learning from his maid-servant that even dates were lacking, sighed and recited Qur’án vii, 126. Long afterwards, when he had become Caliph, Ziyád again stood before him. “O Abú ‘Abdi'r-Rahmán!” said the Caliph, “I have heard that thou hast advantaged the Umayyads.” “Yes,” replied Ziyád, “they reaped advantage from me.” “And how was their rule?” enquired the Caliph, “and what thinkest thou of mine?” “Of their rule,” replied Ziyád, “I saw this, that thou didst take me to thy house and give me to eat with

out meat, and recite the verse, ‘*It may be that your Lord will destroy your foe, and will make you succeed him in the earth.*’ God hath destroyed thine enemy and made thee Caliph (f. 26b): see what thou wilt do, and be not of those referred to in the verse (*Qur’án xcvi, 6*) ‘*Verily man waxeth insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.*’ Know that the Devil hath no more potent weapon than tempting man to sin to-day and to repent to-morrow.”

Anecdote.

It is related on the authority of Abú Ḥamza ath-Thumálí¹ that the [fourth] Imám ‘Alí b. al-Ḥusayn *Zaynul-Ābidin* said to him: “One day I came forth from al-Madína, and while I stood in thought, leaning against this wall, a man clad in two white garments, one over the other, accosted me, saying, ‘O ‘Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! I see thee sorrowful: if it be on account of this world’s provision, God is guarantee therefor.’ ‘No,’ I replied, ‘my sorrow is not for this.’ ‘Then,’ said he, ‘dost thou grieve for the future life? For that is God’s promise, which He is able to fulfil.’ ‘No,’ I replied; ‘it is not for this, for I know that what thou sayest is true.’ ‘Then,’ said he, ‘since thou grievest neither for this world nor the next, for what dost thou grieve?’ ‘I grieve,’ said I, ‘for the mischief wrought by fools, and the contempt I suffer at their hands.’ Than the man laughed in my face and said, ‘O ‘Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! Didst thou ever see one who trusted in God and was disappointed?’ ‘No,’ I replied. ‘Didst thou ever,’ he replied, ‘see anyone who sought anything from God which He did not vouchsafe to him?’ ‘No,’ I replied. And straightway the man vanished from my eyes.”

¹ [i. e. Thábit b. Abí Ṣafíyya Dínár (d. A. H. 150). Cf. Najáshí (ed. Bom-bay, A. H. 1317), p. 83; Túsi’s *Fihrist*, p. 71; Astarábádi’s *Manhajul-maqál* (Persian ed. of A. H. 1307), p. 74; *Muntaha'l-maqál* Tíhrán, A. H. 1302), p. 343. The text has *al-Yamáni* by mistake for *ath-Thumáli*. A. G. E.].

Anecdote.

It is related by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza, from Abú Ḥamza¹, from Sa‘d², from Abú Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, generally known as [the fifth Imám, Muḥammad] Bágir (المعروف بياقير آل رسول الله)، that ʻUmar b. ʻAbdi'l-ʻAzíz during the time of his Caliphate (A. D. 717—720) visited al-Madína, and caused proclamation to be made there that anyone who had suffered wrong at the hands of the Umayyads should present himself before him and receive compensation, so far as was possible. The Imám Bágir presented himself, and al-Muzáhib (المزاحم), ʻUmar's client, notified the fact to his master, who bade him enter, and forthwith fell to weeping. When the Imám entered he found ʻUmar in tears (f. 26a), and enquired as to the cause of his sorrow. Being informed, he turned to ʻUmar and said:

يَا عَمِّ اتَّمَا الدِّيَابَا سُوقٌ مِنَ الْأَسْوَاقِ مِنْهَا خَرَجَ فَوْمٌ مَا يَنْفَعُهُ وَمِنْهَا
خَرَجَ [آخْرُونَ] مَا بَضَرَهُ وَكُمْ مِنْ فَوْمٍ مَدْ ضَرَّهُ مُنْلِيَ الَّذِي أَصْبَحَنَا
فِيهِ حَتَّىٰ أَنَّمَ الْمَوْتَ ،

Anecdote.

‘Alī, seeing ‘Ammár b. Yásir sad and sorrowful one day, consoled him in the following words:

عَلَامَ تَنْفَسُّكَ يَا عَمَارَ إِنْ كَانَ عَلَى الْآخِرَةِ فَفَدَ أَخْبِرُكَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِأَنَّكَ
تَقْتُلُكَ الْفَتَّةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ وَإِنْ كَانَ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا مَا تَسْتَحِقُ أَنْ يُوسَىٰ عَلَيْهَا

¹ [i. e. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza al-Laythí, grandson, by a daughter, of Abú Ḥamza. Cf. Najáshí, p. 40; *Manhaj*, p. 112; *Muntahá*, p. 119. The text has Ḥasan b. Ḥamza, but the only Ḥasan b. Ḥamza recorded in the *Shifa* books of “Riyád” died in A. H. 358. A. G. E.]

² [Either Sa‘d b. Tarif al-Ḥandhalí (Najáshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 152; *Manhaj*, p. 159; *Muntahá*, p. 144), or Sa‘d b. Sa‘d b. al-Āḥwāṣ al-Ash‘arí (Najáshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 151; *Muntahá*, p. 144), both of whom received traditions from the Imám Abú Ja‘far. A. G. E.].

فَلَنْ مُلَاقِهَا فِي سَتِ الْمَأْكُولِ وَالْمَشْرُوبِ وَالْمَلْبُوسِ وَالْمَشْمُومِ وَالْمَرْكُوبِ وَالْمَنْكُوحِ، فَلَمَّا الْمَأْكُولُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ الْعَسْلُ وَلَمَّا هُوَ قَىٰ ذِبْلَةٌ وَلَمَّا الْمَشْرُوبُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ الْمَاءُ وَهُوَ مَبْلَحٌ لَا تَمْنَنُ لَهُ وَلَمَّا الْمَلْبُوسُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ الدِّبِيلَجُ وَلَمَّا هُوَ مِنْ لَعَابَةٍ دِودَةٌ وَلَمَّا الْمَشْمُومُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ الْمَسْكُ وَلَمَّا هُوَ بَعْضُ دَمٍ وَلَمَّا الْمَرْكُوبُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ النِّسَاءُ وَلَمَّا هُوَ مَبَالٌ فِي مَبَالٍ وَلَمَّا الْمَرْكُوبُ فَأَفْضَلُهُ الْخَيْلُ وَعَلَى ظَهُورِهَا يُعْتَدُ الرِّجَالُ، قَالَ فَوْلَلَهُ مَا أَسِبَّتْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ بَعْدَهَا،

The following admonition is also ascribed to 'Alī:

إِذَا أَرَدْتَ الصَّاحِبَ فَاللَّهُ يَكْعِبُكَ وَإِذَا أَرَدْتَ الرَّفِيقَ فَاللَّوْمَ الْكَاتِبُونَ
بِكَفِيكَ وَإِذَا أَرَدْتَ الْمَؤْسِ فَالْعَرَآنَ بِكَعِبِكَ وَإِذَا أَرَدْتَ الْمَوْعِظَةَ فَالْمَوْلَوْتَ
بِكَفِيكَ فَإِنْ لَمْ بَكِعْكَ مَا فَلَتْ فَلَنَارَ بَيْمَ الْعِيَامَةَ تَكْفِيكَ

Anecdote.

One day Ḥasan of Baṣra was passing by a group of people who were speaking ill of Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf. He said to them:

أَنْ لِلْحَاجِجَ عَفْيَةً اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ فَلَا تَسْتَغْبِلُوهُ بِالسُّبْتِ وَاللَّعْنِ وَالشَّتَّنِ وَلَكُنْ
أَسْتَقْبِلُوهُ بِالْتَّعَاءِ وَالنَّتَّصْرَعِ وَالْإِبْتَهَالِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَالْبُكَاءِ حَتَّىٰ بَكْعَيْهُ
عَنْكُمْ فَوْلَوْا اللَّهُمَّ (fol. 26b) حَوْلَنَا مِنْ ذَلِّ الْمُعْصِيَةِ إِلَى عَزِّ النُّبُوَّةِ وَبِدَلَ
هَذِهِ الْعَرْبَةَ بِالرَّحْمَةِ

"I heard," adds the author, "from a certain pious man in the city of Khwárazm, that the Children of Israel made complaint before one of their prophets, saying, 'Say unto God, 'What have we done that Thou hast set over us one who knoweth Thee not, and hast afflicted us at the hands of a people who do not confess Thy Lordship, seeing that we confess Thee and magnify Thee?'" But God revealed to the prophet the following message to them: 'Verily when those who know Me rebel against me, I set over them one who knoweth Me not.'

Section I, ch. II.

First settlement of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán
and its cities.

Farshwádgar¹ is bounded by Ádharbajján, Áhár, Ṭabaristán, Gílán, Daylam, Ray, Qúmis, Dámghán and Gurgán, and was first so defined by Minúchihr Sháh. As regards its etymology, some say that it means "Live safe and sound" (باش خور ای عش سالمً صلحاء), but certain natives of Ṭabaristán assert that *farsh* means "plain" (*hámún*), *wád* "highlands" (*kúhístán*), and *gar* "sea", and that the name therefore signifies "land of mountain, plain and sea"; this interpretation, however, is modern. Older authorities say that *gar* (*jar*) means mountainous land susceptible of cultivation, where thickets and trees are found, *Far-sháh* (or *Gar-sháh*) being an ancient title of the descendants of Súkhrá, the meaning of which is "King of the mountains"¹. The name Mázandarán is more recent. Its king was killed by Rustam the son of Zál. It was originally called "Múz-andarún", because Múz was the name of a mountain on the confines of Gílán extending as far as Lár, Qaṣrán and Jájarm; and since this territory was "within [the mountains of] Múz", it received this name. But as for what belongs to Ṭabaristán, from Dínár-jári on the east to a village called Malát, beyond Húsam on the west², they say that in ancient days it was all jungle and forest, lagoon and fen, mountain and sea

¹ This, as pointed out by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.*, p. 507, n. 3 *ad calc.*) is a corruption of the ancient *Patashkhwár*, a name properly applied to the chain of mountains which separates Ṭabaristán from Iráq.

² So al-Bírúní says (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Sachau's transl., p. 107): "The Persians call the first man *Gayómarth*, with the surname *Gir-sháh*, i.e. 'King of the Mountain'..." See also Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 111, s. v. *Garsháh*.

Cf. Dorn's ed. of Dhahíru'd-Dín, p. 19 where the substance of this passage is reproduced.

(f. 27a), and that until the time of Jamshíd it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and bade them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams. He also caused castles to be made and duly provisioned for the highlanders, and brought water from the mountains to the plains; and so they held Ṭabaristán for a hundred years or more. Thereafter he brought craftsmen and artificers into that province, assigning land to each, and giving the wise and prudent authority over the others. The oldest settlement is Láriján, where, in the village of Waraka (ورکه ^{بَلْهَ}^۱), Ferídún was born; which happened in this wise. When Dahák the Arab (ضحاك ناري) hewed Jamshíd in pieces, the family and descendants of that unfortunate king fled away and hid themselves wherever they could, and the mother of Ferídún and her attendants took refuge in the above-mentioned village, which is at the foot of Mount Damáwand. On the birth of Ferídún, they migrated to the more fertile Jíláb (or Chaláb: *Dhahiru'd-Din*, p. 11, شلاپ), where pasture is abundant and the people live by cattle-farming. When Ferídún was seven years old, he used to fix a guiding-rope in the noses of the cattle and ride them², so that one would say that heaven was reflected on earth, and that a second "Sun" (i. e. Ferídún) was arising from "the Bull" (the Sign of Taurus). Later, the other youths had recourse to him for protection and guidance, and he, mounted on a cow (f. 27b), used to go forth with them to the chase. After a time they migrated towards Lafúr (لفور; *Dhahir*, p. 12, لپور) to the village of Máwjakúh (ماوجکو; *Dhahir*, ماوجکو), and were joined by the

¹ *Dhahiru'd-Din*, p. 11, where the name stands درکه or درکی.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

people of Ummídwár-kúh and Kúh-i-Qárin, who made for the young prince the famous cow-headed mace. As his fame waxed greater, the number of his followers increased, until he felt himself strong enough to invade Iráq. On reaching Isfahán he was joined by the blacksmith Káwa, and, acting in conjunction with him, took Dahák captive.

فریدون گاو پروردۀ کرد شیر گو را برد
نه بیاری وسیع بک دو کیا بستد از بیورسب ملک نیا

Having brought the fallen tyrant to his native village for one night, he conveyed him on the following day to the summit of Mount Damáwand, where he left him, bound and helpless, in a cave or pit which is still pointed out. Then, having established his authority over the Seven Climes, he took up his abode in Tammísha, where the ruins of his Palace are still apparent at a place called Bá-naṣrán^۱ (با نصران), also the domes and cupolas of his bath, and the remains of the moat which he caused to be dug from the mountain to the sea. These, the author remarks, he had often seen and examined. Firdawsí says:

فریدون فرخ نمیشه بکرد نشست اندر آن نامور بیشه کرد

This forest is also called in the books *Bísha-i-Nárwan* ("the Forest of wild Pomegranates"), and the river Báwul (now Bábúl) waters the country to this day. When Karshásf went to China, he sent the Emperor of that kingdom, bound with golden chains and accompanied by eighty other princes, in the custody of Naríman to Ferídún, who was then in Tammísha.

The Foundation of Sári.

Sári was founded in ancient times by Tús the son of Núdhár, at a place called Túsán to this day. In the time of

¹ Dhahíru'd-Dín, p. 13.

Kay-Khusraw (f. 28a), Faršburz, fearing the king's wrath because of some fault which he had committed, fled thither and took refuge with the family of Núdhar, till Rustam came with a great army and carried him before Kay-Khusraw, who forgave him. The site of a castle built by him is still visible at a place called Lúman Dún (لومن دون)¹. Sári itself was ordered to be built in the time of the Great Farrukhán, king of Ṭabaristán, by Báv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar (اوهار), which was chosen because of its high position, abundant streams, and pleasant surroundings. The inhabitants, however, bribed Báv to leave them in peace and choose another site, where Sári actually stands. The king, on becoming aware of his disobedience, cast him into bondage, and caused him to be hanged at the place called in consequence of this *Báv-áviján* (باد آویجان), while with the money taken as a bribe he built a village called *Dinár-Kafshín* (دينار کفسین). The Mosque of Sári was built in the reign of Hárunu'r-Rashíd by the Amír Yaḥyá b. Yaḥyá, and completed by Mázyár b. Qárin. The four-doored dome (گنبد چهار در) which stands opposite to the Palace of Bávandán was included by the late king Ardashír in his private garden. It was originally built by Minuchihr Sháh, but fell into dilapidation in the time of the Ispahbad Khurshíd Gávbán. It was then repaired², and is now so strong that it is impossible to detach a single brick from the fabric.

The Foundation of Rúyán.

Its first foundation was in the time of Ferídún (f. 28b). When his sons Túr and Salm slew their brother Íraj, he left a daughter in the district of Lafúr at Máwjakúh. Ferí-

¹ See Dorn's *Dhahiru 3-d-Dín*, p. 29.

² *Dhahir*, p. 30.

dún was then at a very advanced age, and his eyebrows drooped so that they had to be bound up. His earnest prayer was that he might live to see the death of his favourite son Traj avenged, and he gave the daughter of Traj in marriage to one of his nephews. When a child was born to her, it was shewn to the aged Ferídún, who said, “*Mánad chihr-ash bi-chihr-i-Íraj*” (“His face resembles the face of Traj”) ¹, so he was called *Manuchihr*, and, as is set forth in the verse and prose *Sháhnámas* of Firdawsí and Mu³ayyidí, he avenged his grandfather Traj ere Ferídún departed from this world. Here are cited the well-known verses of Firdawsi:

فَرِيدُونْ فَرْخْ فَرْشَتَهْ نَبُودْ زَمْشَكْ وْ زَعْنَبْ سَرْشَتَهْ نَبُودْ
بَدَادْ وَدَهْشَنْ يَافَتْ آنْ نِيكَوْئَىْ تَوَدَادْ وَدَهْشَنْ كَنْ كَهْ فَرْخْ تَوْئَىْ

Thereafter Pashang, the son of Afrásiyáb came with a great army to Dahistán to avenge the death of Salm. Mi-núchihr, king at Iştakhr in Fárs ², ordered Qárín [the son of] Gáwa, his brother Qubád, and Arish of Ray to oppose his advance. Afrásiyáb, having been worsted several times by the Persians, had recourse to a kind of treacherous stratagem of which, as Arab writers assert, he was the inventor. He wrote to Qárín saying, “I have received your letter and have taken note of your professions of loyalty ³ towards me. When I take the kingdom of Persia, I promise, as God is my witness, to hand it over to you.” Afrásiyáb then arranged that the messenger who bore this letter should fall into the hands of a Persian noble who was in the confidence of Minúchihr and ill-disposed towards Qárín. This noble (f. 29a), having read the letter, at once reported the matter to Minúchihr, who, entirely deceived by Afrásiyáb’s

¹ This is a fair sample of the etymologies which the Persians are so ready to invent.

² See Dorn’s *Dhahír*, p. 14.

³ Dhahír, p. 15.

cunning ruse (for Qárin was perfectly loyal and meditated no treachery),¹ ordered Qárin to be brought before him, and made over the command of the army to Árish. As soon as Qárin was thus removed, Afrásiyáb attacked the Persians and drove them back on 'Iráq. Then at length Minúchihr perceived that he had been duped, and reinstated Qárin in his command. Qárin advanced to Ray with his army. Afrásiyáb pitched his camp آجا که دولاب وظهار نسبت, and daily gained some advantage over Minúchihr, who ordered the Castle of Ṭabarak to be constructed, and there, a year later, after many serious defeats, he was obliged to take refuge. At that date the city stood over against the spot afterwards occupied by the Cupola of Fakhru'd-Dawla (گنبد) شهنشاہ فخر الدّولۃ, which place they now call¹ in Ray *Diz-i-Rashkán*, and it remained thus till the time of the Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, „and,” adds the author, “in the house of the Sháhib Ibn ‘Abbád I have seen a mound like a hill [which marks its site].” Minúchihr came from Ṭabarak to the city, fortified the walls, and abode there six months, when he was compelled to flee and escape by way of Láriján to Ṭabaristán, while Afrásiyáb made the wide world narrow to him as the eye of a needle:

كَانَ بِلَادُ اللَّهِ وَقَيْ عَرِيقَةً عَلَى الْخَائِفِ الْمُطْلُوبِ كَعَةً حَابِلٍ

Afrásiyáb pursued him into Ṭabaristán until he reached the limits of Rúyán, a village called Mánahar (مانهر). There, in one face of the mountain, is a great cavern, to the end of which no man hath ever penetrated, and in it Minúchihr concealed his treasures and stores. In the time of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-‘Alawí², called *kúchak* (“the Little”), this cave was entered, and much wealth found there. Afrásiyáb alighted at a village called Khusraw-ábád near Amul (f. 29b), which

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 16.

² *Dhahír*, p. 17.

village still existed in the time of Washmgír (A. D. 935—967) the son of Ziyár, the father of Qábús. Above this village was a tree called *Sháttí-mází-bun* (شلت مازی بن), beneath which Afrásiyáb pitched his tent for twelve years, and during all this time Minúchihr had need of nothing which is imported from foreign countries except pepper, in place of which they used to eat a herb¹ called *kaltj* (کلچ), in order that their bodies might be able to resist the moisture of the climate. Finally Afrásiyáb concluded peace with Minúchihr (since he could not capture him) on the understanding that he should surrender to him one bowshot's width of territory. Arish thereupon shot an arrow from there to Merv, a statement recorded in many Persian and Arabic books, both verse and prose²; which some say that he achieved by virtue of some talisman or charm. This is one of the two shots in which the Persians glory, the other being the shot wherewith, in the reign of Kisrá (Anúshírwán), Wahriz slew the king of the Abyssinians³. From the conclusion of this war dates the prosperity of Rúyán, and the depopulation of this region (?Tabarak), for King Minúchihr thereafter established himself in Ṭabaristán.

Foundation of Amul⁴.

There were two brothers from the country of Daylam, one named Ashtád (f. 30a), the other Yazdán, who, because they had slain one of the nobles of Daylam with an arrow (بنفگ), were obliged, with their families, to flee from their country. They settled near Amul, where the one founded

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 18.

² See, for instance, my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 60—61.

³ This story is so well known that I omit the meagre version here given. See Noldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233 and *J.R.A.S.* for April, 1900, p. 229—230.

⁴ *Dhahír*, p. 22.

the village of Yazdánábád and the other the hamlet of Ashtád, both of which exist to this day. Ashtád had a very beautiful daughter. The great king of that time was named Firúz, and had his capital at Balkh. One night he dreamed of this maiden, and on awaking cried¹:

صُبْحَ آمِدَ وَخُورشِيدَ مِنْ أَزْ مِنْ يَرْبُود
خِيَالِكَ فِي الْكَرَى وَقَنَاً أَتَانَا وَمِنْ سَلْسَلَى رِيقَكَ قَدْ سَقَانَا
وَبَاتَ مُعَانِفِي لَيْلًا تَمَامًا فَلَمَّا بَانَ وَجْهُ الْمُصْبِحِ بَانَ

In vain did the king strive to expel her image from his mind:

قَضَى اللَّهُ مَا لَا إِسْتِطِيعُ دَفَعَهُ فَا كَانَ لِي مِمَّا فَضَى اللَّهُ عَاصِمٌ
Love so wasted his frame that:

لَوْ أَنَّ الْأَشْعُرِيَ رَأَى يَوْمًا لَسْمَى بَعْدَهُ الْمَعْدُومَ شَيْعًا

He then reflected within himself that the concealment of this secret was injuring his health (f. 30b):

شَفَانِي لَنْ أَفْشِيْتُ سَرَّكَ فِي الْهَوَى
كَذَلِكَ أَسْرَارُ الْهَوَى لَنْ فَشَّ

and finally submits a very rhetorical statement of his condition to the chief Múbad (f. 31a)², who is greatly vexed and perturbed, declaring the king to be the victim of demoniacal possession, reproaching him for his unreasonable passion, and advising him to have recourse to a physician (f. 31b). The king endeavoured for a few days longer to get the better of his passion, and then, in accordance with the proverb, "Man eagerly desires that which is forbidden him," and the verses:

¹ Dhahír, p. 23.

² This is much simplified and abbreviated in Dhahír, p. 23.

مرا عشق است وجز من مردمان را ازین انواع بسیار او فتادست
ملامت جون کنم خودرا نه زلقل زن آشین این کار او فتادست
he summoned his ministers and issued orders to all the
Wardens of his Marches (*marzubáns*) to seek for the original
of that vision. For some time their efforts met with no
success, and the king's melancholy increased, until at length
he entreated one of his relatives named Mihr Fírúz to un-
dertake the quest, promising him a rich reward ¹ if he should
be successful (f. 32a). Mihr Fírúz declared that he would
leave no stone unturned in his endeavour to find the king's
desire:

فَأَشْرَبْ ماء الْجَفْنِي إِنْ مَسْنَى الْعَدَا
وَأَكُلْ لَحْمَ الْكَفِ إِنْ كُنْتْ أَغْرَثْ

He then questioned the soldiers as to what regions they had left unexplored, and they replied that they had traversed the East and the West, all Persia and Arabia, save only Ṭabaristán. So on that very day Mihr Fírúz set out from Balkh for Ṭabaristán, followed by a caravan of provisions for the journey and costly presents, until he came to Túsán (شیرستان طوسان), whence, aided by the governor, he pursued his search, grudging no expenditure, for rather more than a year, but met with no success. At length, accompanied by a few followers, he set off to explore the country lying towards the sea-coast. One day, near Ahlam (اعلام), his horse was drowned while he was fording a stream, and he himself with difficulty reached the further shore. Unable to return, he plunged into the forest, when at length he came upon a clear and beautiful stream, which he followed up till he reached the fountain which was its source.² There, to his amazement, he saw a girl whose appearance exactly

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 24.

² *Dhahír*, p. 25

corresponded with her whom the king had seen in his vision. He said to himself, "If she be a *jinniyya*, I will kill her (f. 32*b*), but if she be a human being, it is she whom I seek." So he drew his sword and advanced towards the fountain. The girl looked up at him and said, "O youth, who art thou, and what is thy name, and what dost thou here? For I wonder to see such an one as thyself in this place." Mihr Fírúz replied, "I am a human being. Tell me, now, of thy condition and family." "I too," replied the girl, "am of the human race; my home is in this place; and I have two fathers, to wit my father and his brother, and likewise a mother and many brothers." The girl, on Mihr Fírúz's request, consented to take him to her home, and, on reaching it, informed her mother of his arrival. Her mother received him with the utmost respect and courtesy, and sent her youngest son to summon her husband and his brothers, who came with all speed, and, after the fashion of Daylam, entertained him for three days without questioning him as to his business or condition. When, after this period, they enquired as to who he was and what had brought him to the country, he informed them that he was one of the nobles of the King, and had come thither for solitude and the chase, and described his separation from his companions, the loss of his horse, and his meeting with the girl. "Know," he concluded, "that I am not one of whom you need be ashamed, or who has need of your wealth or possessions. If you see fit, then give me this girl in marriage." "Thine appearance," said the father and mother, "sufficiently indicates thy nobility¹, and thy courtesy thy virtue (f. 33*a*), how then should we not desire thee as a son-in-law?" Then they related to him their history, and how they had been compelled to flee from

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 26.

their country, and added that they could promise nothing till they had consulted their elder brother. To him, accordingly, they went in company, and he received them with every honour, saying:

ف هیچ بهانه و فیچ دلیل نگاه بخوان عنکبوت آمد پیل

On hearing the propose of Mihr-Fírúz he readily agreed to it, and Mihr Fírúz at once sent off a messenger for the presents and supplies which he had left at Túsán, informing the governor that he had fulfilled his quest, and bidding him notify the fact to the King. While one of the girl's brothers took this message, another sought out Mihr Fírúz's missing retainers. The King rejoiced greatly at the news, despatched valuable gifts, and ordered general illuminations and festivities (f. 33b). When the actual greatness of Mihr-Fírúz became apparent to Ashtád and Yazdán, they were overwhelmed with confusion, especially when he related to them the dream, and declared to them that it was not to himself, but to his master the king, that the girl was to be given in marriage. Then they sent off the girl in all haste to the Court, and when the king saw her, he at once recognized in her the original of his vision, and his love for her increased day by day. One day he asked her¹, "Why is it that the women of your country have such beautiful eyes, such fragrant mouths, and such soft skins?" She replied in her own language [of Tabaristán]²:

جاوید فرخ خسرو خدای انشوه در جاوید اج بامدادان سفر دین
چشم افروخ، آج تاوسستان کتان وزمستان پرنیان پوشین تن افروخ،
آج سیر و انکسم خوردن دمش افروج،

The King applauded her answer and bade her crave a boon. She asked that a city might be built at Páy-i-Dasht,

¹ Dhahír, p. 27.

² For variants, cf. Dhahír, loc. cit., ll. 3—5.

her native place, situated above the river Hirhiz (هیریز), and called after her name. Engineers and surveyors were at once sent thither to prosecute the work, and that same year a son was born to her named Khusraw. She desired the king to send her thither for change of air, because the climate of Balkh did not agree with her. They told her that the engineers had been unable to bring the water of the river Hirhiz to the spot which she had indicated as the site of the city, so she ordered that its name should still remain Páy-i-Dasht¹; and there the signs of these buildings are apparent to this day (f. 34a). They called the place which the girl had chosen Sharistána-marz. The projected city was then transferred to the present site, called Ástána-saráy, but at first named Mátá (مانة), now the site of the Great Mosque [of Amul], wherein was formerly a fountain which drew its water from the Mountain of Wandá-ummíd, and which was still running in the time of al-Yazdádí (see p. 3 *supra*). And when they had brought the water thither, they built the city-wall of baked bricks, so thick that three horseman could ride abreast along the top of it, and dug round about it a moat 33 cubits (ارش) in depth, and a bow-shot across; and in the wall they made four Gates, called respectively "of Jurján", "of Gilán", "of the Mountain", and "of the Sea". The area of the city was 400 *jaribs* of land. The Palace of the king's wife, Amula, stood where the "Street of the Washermen" (کوچه گازران) now is, and behind the "Cloth-sellers' Market"; and her Tomb (دخمه) was in the same place. In the reign of Ardashír excavations were made here to a depth of two spears' lengths, and the sepulchre and surrounding buildings were disclosed. When the King's son Khusraw succeeded to the throne, he greatly enlarged Amul, and made it his capital and residence, sur-

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 28.

rounding the original wall with another of clay. The space between the two walls they called بَصْرَ, and what lay beyond the outer wall فَقْرَ, "which terms," says the author, "occur frequently in old title-deeds". The meaning of the name Amul in their tongue is آهوش, both of these words meaning (f. 34b) "death", the sense here being "May death never touch thee!" (تَرَا هَرَكْ مُرَگْ مِبَادْ). It is related that when the Ispahbad Mázyár b. Qárin destroyed the walls of Amul¹, they found on the top of the Gate of Gurgán a green casket (بسوفَةٌ; *Dhahir*, p. 28, بِسْتُوقَةٌ, explained by Vullers as a cervical vertebra) sealed with tin (فلج). The superintendent ordered it to be broken open, whereupon a small copper tablet bearing an inscription in the *kustaj* character² fell out. One who had skill in this character was summoned to read it, which, having mastered its contents, he could scarcely be induced to do. On it was written, "The good construct and the wicked destroy; whosoever destroys this shall not survive the year." And it was even so; for ere the end of the year Mázyár was taken captive and executed at Surra-man-rá'a (A. H. 224 = A. D. 839). The Great Mosque of Amul was built in the time of Hárunu'r-Rashíd, in A. H. 177 (= A. D. 793—4), by Ibráhím b. 'Uthmán [b.] Nahík³. He could not at first buy the whole site required, until the grandfather of Abu'l-Hasan b. Hárún *al-Faqíh*, who was named Anbárak, was converted to Islám and changed his name to Mubárak, whereupon he sold his house for this purpose, and others who possessed land in this quarter followed his example. When the Mosque was finished, they desired to ascertain the direction of the *qibla*, but it rained unceasingly for forty nights and days, and they were obliged

¹ See Tabarí (ed. de Goeje), Ser. iii, Vol. ii, p. 1275.

² See *Fihrist*, p. 13 of text and p. 8 of the notes. Cf. Mas'údi's *Kitábú'l-Tanbih wa'l-Ishráf* (ed. de Goeje), p. 107.

³ See Tabarí, Ser. iii, pp. 651—706.

to have recourse to conjecture. The cost of the land occupied by the Mosque was 8032 *dínárs*, its length was 93 yards (ارش), its dome or roof (گلہ), ten yards in length, contained 300,640 tiles (فیسب), and the cost of construction was 47,340 *dínárs*. In the time of Fírúz-Sháh, the original founder of the city, a ditch or moat was made from the frontier of Gurgán and Múqán, on the seashore, and traces of this moat, called "Fírúz-kanda" ("the Moat of Fírúz") are still visible in many places in Ṭabaristán, a fact on which al-Yazdádí has greatly insisted in his book. At the time of the foundation of Amul (f. 35a), a certain man possessed one *jarib* of land, which he refused to sell, lest his sons should forfeit the position of land-owners and sink to that of serfs. He appealed to the King, who admitted that he was right, and ordered him to receive an abundant payment for his little property.

Turicha (تریچه). The name of the place was originally Túrán-char (توران خر). In the time of Farrukhán the Great a treaty was concluded with the Turks whereby it was agreed that, in consideration of the payment of a tribute, they should abstain from invading Ṭabaristán. Two years later, having fortified the passes, the Persians refused to pay the tribute, and King Farrukhán retired to Fírúz-ábád, near Lafúr, and there entrenched himself. The Turks invaded Ṭabaristán, but Farrukhán fell upon them suddenly at night and slew them all. Túrán-char marks the site of this massacre.

Mám̄tir (مامطیر). This place was visited by the Imám Hasan b. 'Alí in the Caliphate of 'Umar, he being accompanied by an army of Arabs under Málik Ashtar an-Nakha¹', and because of the excellence of the site and its natural advantages, especially its good water and sweet-voiced birds,

¹ See Baládhuri's *Futúh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 164 and 228.

he said: طَيْبٌ مَا بَقِيَّةُ، and the last words of this sentence, *Má wa tir*, became corrupted into *Mamtír*¹. When Muḥammad b. Khálid was governor of the province (f. 356) he constructed there a market and other buildings, to which, in A. H. 160 (= A. D. 776—7) Mázýár b. Qárin added a Mosque.

Other important cities of Ṭabaristán beyond Tammísha.

Gurgán was founded by Gurgín son of Mílád². It was always the capital of the *marzubáns* of Ṭabaristán, and has a circuit of about four parasangs. Gurgín's ass-herds (*kharbandagán*) used to graze their beasts about Astarábád, which town sprung up to meet their needs and took its name from their mules (*astar*). The whole land, from Dínár-jáy³ to Malát (which is the extreme limit of Ṭabaristán in that direction), and from Ray and Qúmis to the seashore, was well cultivated and thickly populated, and there were 28 cities within the district of Tammísha, each with its mosques, oratories, markets, judges, and men of learning, as follows:

In the Plain. (1) Amul, (2) Sári, (3) Mámtír, (4) Rúbast, (5) Arazm (B. Ararm), (6) Turícha, (7) Muthla (مُثلا), (8) Mihráwán, (9) Machúrí (B. *Bíjúri*), (10) Ahlam, (11) Jálús (B. *Sálús*), (12) ملسوبيك (B. *Bliswabik*), (13) Tís (or Quhsibah, or B. Mahastiya), (14) Tammísha, (15) Gurgán.

In the Mountains. (16) Kalár⁴, (17) Rúyán⁴, (18) Namár, (19) Kajúya⁴, (20) Wíma (ويمه), (21) Shalanba, (22) Wabád (B. *Wamád*), (23) Abkhama (احمما), (24) Sármám, (25)

¹ The modern Bárfurúsh. Cf. *Dhahir*, p. 80.

² Cf. *Dhahir*, p. 22.

³ *Dhahir*, p. 21, has "Dínár-jári, which is the eastern limit of all Ṭabaristán."

⁴ B. enumerates these three places in the preceding class.

Farím, (26) Hazár-garí¹, (27) Damáwand, (28) Lárisján. The revenues of Tabaristán in the time of the Táhirids (بعهد أيام طاهريّة), i. e. A. D. 820—872) amounted to 6,003,000 dirhams, according to the following detail:

<u>Sári</u> as far as <u>Tammísha</u> :	1,300,000	<i>dir.</i>
<u>Mámír</u> and <u>Turícha</u> :	370,000	"
<u>Ámul</u> :	1,400,000	"
<u>Jálus</u> (B. <u>Sálús</u>)- <u>Rúyán</u> : $300,000 + 900,000 =$	1,200,000	"
<u>Rán-Hál</u> (f. 36a):	360,000	"
<u>Damáwand</u> (B. <u>Dunbáwand</u>):	1,200,000	"
TOTAL:	5,830,000	²

The farms (صياغ) of Tabaristán were divided into three classes, and they produced in the time of the Táhirids 7,000,900 dirhams, as follows:³

تفصيل المعروف

المعروف <u>عاموند</u> كه خلیفه از اصفهان جمشید خرید،	300,000	<i>dir.</i>
المعروف بحور و خلاص [آیام مازیار] ⁴ هفتاد [هشتاد ب.]	1,000,300	"
و دو باره ده بود،		
غلالات فضائل مرغ و ماش دریا و آدویه،	1,300,000	"
سقحبیه <u>امیار</u> کوه و امور مددود [لغور و مدد و مازیار ب.]	1,500,000	"
صياغ که <u>محمد</u> بن عبد الله ظاهر را باقطع دادند،	1,000,000	"
صياغ غلالات مسلمیات بن ظاهر،	1,000,000	"
TOTAL:	6,100,300	"

¹ Over this and under (23), which stands immediately above it in the MS., the name Umyár-kúh (أميار كوه) is written in red.

² As this falls short of the total given above by 173,000 *dirhams*, it would appear that something has been omitted from the details.

³ The text of what follows I print in the original, as I do not altogether understand it, leaving the sums mentioned (which are plainly written out in full, not in numbers or in the difficult *siyáq* generally used in financial statements) in our numerals, as before. Here again it will be observed that some error has crept in, for these sums fall short of the total of mentioned by 900,600 *dirhams*.

⁴ B. has only "500,000".

The total income from all the farms, land-taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán beyond Tammísha in the time of the Táhirids amounted to 13,300,000¹ *dirhams*.

جمله ضیاع طبرستان و خوارج و مامن دخل از رسومات ظاهرتہ
سیزده هزار بار هزار و سیصد و سی هزار درم بود خلاف محصول
بیرون نمیشہ،

Section I, ch. III.

On the virtues and wonders of Ṭabaristán (f. 36a).

In ancient times Ṭabaristán was always the refuge and stronghold of the old kings and nobles, because of its natural strength, its independence of other countries for the necessities of life (f. 36b), and its fertility. Its only disadvantage, in short, is the moisture of its climate and the excessive rainfall, which result from its proximity to the sea.

Anecdote.

It was related by the Qádí Abú 'Abdi'r-Rahmán Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd al-Lamrásakí (اللامراسکی) to Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muhammad al-Yazdádí, on the authority of his father, who had it from men of ancient time, that there lived in the neighbourhood of Lamrásak a man named Shahr-Khwástán the son of Zardastán (شهر خواستان)، بن زرستان), possessed of great wealth in personal and landed property and cattle, aged, experienced, and surrounded by numerous sons, cousins and kinsmen, all loyally attached to him. When Farrukhán, the great Ispahbad, had completed the construction of Sári and the great Dyke, all the people, save Shahr-Khwástán, offered him their congratulations and eulogies. The Ispahbad was vexed at this omission (f. 37a), and despatched two horsemen to bring Shahr-Khwástán be-

¹ B. has "13,000 and 330,000."

fore him. When they arrived, he was holding a great banquet, at which all the local nobles and gentry were present. Ordering the two messengers to be hospitably entertained, he packed in sacks samples of all the products of Ṭabaristán, garments of wool, silk, linen and cotton, bread-stuffs of all sorts, sweetmeats, apples, cereals, water-cresses, fresh and salted game, birds, fruits, wines, fragrant herbs, flowers, and the like, and, furnished with these, set off for Sári, where he arrived at day-break. By chance the Ispahbad was giving a great banquet, at which he was presiding, seated on a high throne, whence, after pronouncing a *khuṭba* after the fashion of kings, he addressed the people as follows. "O men of Ṭabaristán, know that ye were a people dwelling apart in a corner of the world, of whom no fame was spread abroad, and to whose country none were attracted. Ye dwelt in jungles with the wild beasts and beasts of prey, ignorant of the enjoyments of life, the ways of men, soft raiment, good horses and agreeable perfumes. It was I who introduced you to nobler aims and a richer and more desirable life; who built for you fine cities which attracted travellers and merchants from afar, so that rare and precious merchandises flowed into your country, and ye became notable and famous in the world, and your cities celebrated for their wealth and splendour. For all this I deserve your thanks." Then all those present, except Shahr-Khwástán, rose up and applauded. The Ispahbad, observing with displeasure Shahr-Khwástán's silence (f. 37b), cried to him, "What ails thee that thou art tongueless as a fish and soulless as a serpent?" Said the other, "If permission be accorded me, I will speak;" and, on receiving permission, he produced and opened the ten sacks which he had brought with him, and displayed their contents. Then he spoke as follows: "May the Ispahbad-Ispahbadán live long! O assembly, we were in this land men indepen-

dent of imports from other countries, contented with what sufficed for our needs, and enjoying ample ease and luxury. None hindered us, nor envied us, nor contended with us, nor coveted our country, nor was cognizant of its secrets. We had need of no one; we had houses, corn-lands and hunting-grounds within the Great Dyke, and every two parasangs was stationed a head-man, captain or squire, whom all man readily obeyed. Now this Prince hath made all strangers and foreigners to know us and our land, and hath caused them to flock hither and settle here, and ere long they will pick a quarrel with us, strive to take our land, and drive forth our children as wanderers and exiles." Then the Ispahbad and the people perceived that he spoke truly, and asked what should now be done, to which he replied, "The thing is done, and there is now no averting it. Had you consulted with me sooner, I would have shewn you a way. Please God that by the Prince's good fortune no harm may result."

The virtue, beauty, health and excellence of the women of Tabaristán have been already mentioned (f. 38a) in connection with the narrative of the building of Amul by Fírúz-sháh. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán Khúrzád¹ says in his *Book of Routes and Provinces* (كتاب المسالك والممالك) that physicians and sages have agreed that the two healthiest and most charming countries are Tabaristán and Samarqand. Of the latter, Huṣayn (حسین) b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí said:

كأنها السماء في اللحيرة و بهرها المجرة للاعتمان و سورها الشمس للاطباق،

while of the former Buzurjmihr said, in reply to a question from Núshírwán, "Its name is Tarab ('joy') and Bustán ('garden')." 'Abdu'lláh b. Qutayba (A. has فتنه in error for قتبنه) said that it ought to be called Tabaristán (with ت for

¹ [Probably Ibn Khurdádhbih. See de Goeje's ed. of his *Kitábu'l-masálik*, pp. 171—172, where ar-Raqqáshí's remark above cited is given in substance. A. G. E.].

ṭ as the first letter), for it was as though it had been pruned with axes (*tabar*). "As for its plains, its mountains, its seas and its swamps," runs another saying, "its mountains are a stronghold and refuge for its kings, its swamps are a treasury for its people, its seas are a hunting ground for them, and its plains are a paradise." (Here follows an Arabic poem of seven couplets in its praise). In it are no noxious reptiles or hurtful beasts, like the snakes of Sístán and India, the scorpions of Niṣibín, Káshán, Jászk and Múqán, the locusts of 'Askar, the tarantulas and fleas of Ardabil, the beasts of prey of Arabia, or the crocodiles of Egypt; nor plagues like the alopecia of Başra, or the drought of Syria, or the excessive heat of 'Umán, Shíráz and Ahwáz. In short, all men agree that there is no country so delectable as a residence; there are abundant fruits, fire-wood, spices, mountains, plains, sulphur-mines (f. 38δ), sulphate of iron (زاج), antimony (سُرمه), gold and silver-mines¹, and all sorts of fabrics for clothing. Of its products in his time al-Yazdádí thus speaks:

و بزدایی آورده است که در عهد اول اطلس و نسخ و عتاق پیش
بها و انواع دیباء بهائی و سفلاطون مرتفع و سرب گران قیمت
وکافری که درای آن صورت نبند بنيکوشی و خون و پردهای
ابرشیمین و پشمین و میزرهای باریک و انماه بهتر از جهومی و قلیهای
محفوی و آبگینه‌های بغدادی و حصیرهای عبادانی بطبرستان
آمدندی و از آنجا باقصی بلاد عالم جلب کردندی که در همین آفاق
مثل آنکه آنجا یافتند نبود و بازار متاع سقسین و بلغار تا بعهد ما
آمل بود و مردم از عراق و شام و خراسان و حدود هندوستان
بطلب متاع بآمل آمدندی و بازرگانی مردم طبرستان ببلغار و
سقسین بود حکم آنکه سقسین از آن لب دریا در مقابل آمل نهاده

¹ Melgunof, *Das südlische Ufer des Kasischen Meeres*, p. 24.

است و چونین گویند که چون بستگیان کشتی رود بسته ماه برسد
و چون از آنجا آید هفته آینده آنجا نماز گذارند و آینده دیگر باعلم
باشد از آنکه چون میرو بفراس است و چون می آشی در نشیب و
زنان باشند در طبرستان که بروزی پندجاه درم کسب کنند بحسن
صنعت دست خود و هرگز درویشی موقع چنانکه در سایر بلاد
باشند یافته نشود،

In illustration of this last statement, that poverty is unknown amongst the natives of Ṭabaristán, the author relates how a certain man of that province, settled at Mecca, boasted of this fact. The people of Mecca, anxious to disprove his assertion, hunted high and low till at length they found a beggar who said he was from the parish of Házima-Kúy in Amul in Ṭabaristán. Him they confronted with the man who had uttered this boast (f. 39b). "What," said the latter, "do they call a skirt (*dáman*) in your town?" "*Dáman*," replied the other. "And a pocket (*jayb*)?" continued he. "*Jayb*," answered the beggar. "You are a liar," said the other, "and no true-born Tabarí, for in Amul they call a skirt *lunbur* (لنبر) and a pocket *gurivun* (or *giryún*, گیریون)." The man then admitted that he had been born at Ray and only taken to Amul in childhood by his father and mother.

The taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán are light, and especially was this the case under the rule of the House of Báwand, while the water is abundant, good, and freely accessible to all. The satraps, governors and Ispahbads of Ṭabaristán have always enjoyed a great influence, and Kisrás and Caliphs alike have sought their advice and counsel. Their doctors, scribes, physicians, astronomers and poets also include many famous names, and, from the time of Ferídún and Minuchihr, who have been already mentioned, many great and notable men have sought refuge there.

Thus when Rustam-i-Zál was hurled into the sea of Qulzum (the Caspian) by Ákwán Dív, he came ashore in Ṭabaristán, and was hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. His son Suhráb sought him through Túrán, Irán, India and Rúm, and at length found him in Rúyán, at a place called Lskash (لیکش), where the fatal fight took place between them, in which Suhráb was slain. Rustam intended to carry his coffin back to Zábulistán, but, owing to the heat, he deposited it at Sári, at the place called Qaṣr-i-Tús, where, it is said, it was eventually buried (f. 39b). So too Dárá, fleeing before Alexander, took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and sent a message to the invader, saying, "I grant that you have conquered the Seven Climes, but what will you do with Farshwádjar?" The author adds that in A. H. 611 (= A. D. 1214—1215) the Castle known as *Diz-i-Dárá* ("The Fortress of Darius") was still standing near the sea (بکوه تاجی و دارم بپیشه نزدیک دریا). Again in the time of Khusráw Parwíz (A. D. 590—627) his uncle Gustahm (Bistám), because the King had cut off his brother Bindú'è's hands and feet, fled from his Government of Khurásán and took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and was only slain at length by treachery on the part of Bahrám Chúbína's sister Gurdíya, who was instigated thereunto by the King. Again in Sásánian times a king named Salyán (سلبان) took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and built himself a residence at the place called *Kiya-Salyán* (کیسالیان), the meaning of *kiya* (کیا) in the Ṭabari dialect being "house". This building was still standing in the author's time, A. H. 613 (= A. D. 1216—1217).

The Wonders of Ṭabaristán.

Mount Damdwand. 'Alí b. Zayn al-Kátib, in his work entitled *Firdawsu 'l-Hikmat*¹, says that the ascent is made

¹ Probably the work of this title by Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alí of Ray, mentioned by Hájí Khalífa, N°. 9014.

from the village of Ask in two days. It is a conical peak, and is covered with snow, save for a space of thirty *jaribs* at the summit, which is free from snow both in summer and winter, and is covered with sand (?) ashes) into which the feet sink. At and about the summit are thirty craters and fissures, whence issue forth smoke, sulphurous fumes, and strange rumbling noises, whereby men know that there is fire within the mountain. No animal can live on it, because of the violent winds which blow about it, and it is said that the Philosopher's stone of the Alchemists كبريت (اصحاب كيميا) is to be found there (f. 40a). Al-Yazdádí relates that in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Ma'álí (A. D. 976—1012) there was a youth called the son of Amír Ká (پسر امیر کا) who found this "Red Sulphur" (کبریت احمر) there, and with it made gold, until this matter became known to the King. In Mount Damáwand, it is said, Solomon imprisoned Şakhr, the *jinni* who stole his ring, praying God to torment him there till the Resurrection; and this tradition is vouched for on the authority of 'Alí b. Abí Tálib. But the stories told concerning Bívarasp (*i. e.* Azhidaháka, or Dahák), which were enquired into by the Caliph 'Abdu'lláh al-Má'mún, and [what happened] in the reigns of Hurmuzd and Khusraw Parwíz, the Sásánian kings, and the story of Músá b. 'Isá as-Sarwí, which are related in the *Book of Pírúz-Mihrján*, and other similar legends¹⁾ are here omitted as incredible and unauthenticated. In the books of the *Herbeds* and Magians it is related that Núshírwán the Just sent a trusty messenger to Şakhr the *jinni*, who, when the messenger came and saluted him, enquired who had sent him. On learning that it was Núshírwán, he rose to his feet, prayed, and gave three things to the messenger in a sealed packet,

¹⁾ The text here, which I do not understand, has: و حوالت کنیزک و حرم السعیدة،

bidding him deliver them to the King, and entreat him in return to effect the release of the giver. These three things were three drugs, one to keep off old age, one to quicken digestion, and one an aphrodisiac. When these confections were brought to Núshírwán, he said, "I have no need of them, for old age is the ornament of man, and a source of dignity and honour: would that I were already old! Sexual desire, again, is only necessary for the continuance of the human race: whatever exceeds this is evil, not good. And artificial aids to digestion are only needful to him who eats too much; to the temperate man, who only eats to maintain his strength, they are useless and even pernicious (f. 40b). Over and above all this, these drugs may not possess the properties alleged, and may have been given me for my destruction." Then he ordered the drug which was supposed to be a cure for old age to be given to a dog, and its head swelled up till it was as large as a cow's, until it died in great agony, and was secretly buried by Núshírwán's order.

Anecdote.

There was once a king called Máhiya-sar, whose head was abnormally small, and devoid of hair. He therefore always wore a turban, summer and winter, night and day, so that no one could see his head. Some say that he was a Jew named Sham'ún (Simon) b. Khudádád, others that he was a Magian named Bálí the son of Farrukh-Ádín. His mother, Rúz the daughter of Khurshíd, was a cunning witch and sorceress, incomparable in her time in the arts of Magic. They dwelt in a place four parasangs from Amul, called now *Ást-Visha* and his palace was in a village which still exists and is called Vílfr (وبلیر). Between the villages of Kílankúr (کیلنکور) and Shír-ábád is a great forest, thick and high, which is

still called *Máhiya-sarī Dīz*, and near it is a deep moat or dyke filled with water covered with duck-weed (أَبْ مُطَهِّلَب), into which anything which falls disappears for ever, while no boat can cross it, and any animal falling into it does but drown the quicker the more it struggles. On that side where the north wind blows there is an open space, where grow daffodils the like of which in fragrance can be nowhere found; while in the village of Vílfr is a certain species of fig (نَجْمَر خَسْرَهَانِي), superior to those of Hulwán. Now this king Máhiya-sar was a wicked and unprincipled tyrant, of whom his subjects stood in terror, and he had accumulated vast wealth which he had buried under various buildings. When 'Abdu'lláh b. Mahmúd b. Núh Abu'l-'Abbás was governor of Tabaristán, an old man a hundred years of age came before him from that district, and gave him certain indications as to the site of these buried treasures. Abu'l-'Abbás accordingly sent skilled and trusted man to excavate (f. 41a), and in these excavations they expended much money, but whenever they came on traces of treasure a landslip always occurred, killing several and nullifying their labours, so that at last they were forced to abandon their attempts.

Anecdote.

One of the Kisrás sent a confidential messenger to Máhiya-sar ordering him to present himself at his court, under pain of incurring the Royal displeasure, Máhiya-sar had prepared a talisman which kept all the frogs and other reptiles (بَنَاتٌ) quiet during the day, but at night they made so much noise that the whole heaven and earth seemed to be in commotion. When at night-time Kisrá's ambassador heard this fearful riot (غَوْل، رَسْتَخِيزَن), he was dazed with wonder and fear, and asked what was the matter. They replied,

"The king's watchmen by night." "And where," enquired he, "are they by day?" "By day," they answered, "they rest." When the ambassador returned and related this to Kisrá, they told him that he must have been dreaming.

In the *History of the Barmecides* (بَرْمَقِيَّةٌ) it is said that this Máhiya-sar originally owned the "Barmecide Ring" (إِنْكِشْتَرِيَّةٌ بَرْمَقِيَّةٌ) which afterwards belonged to the Umayyad Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán (A. D. 685—705); but this story, as well as many others referring to Máhiya-sar which are given by al-Yazdádi, is discredited by the author on chronological grounds.

Anecdote.

Near Ummídhwár Kúh is a well called *Cháh-i-Víjan* (? "Bízhan's Well") which no one has been able to fathom, though loads of rope have been brought thither, knotted together, and let down into it (f. 41b). When a stone is thrown into it, the noise of its falling is heard for a long time until at last it ceases. During summer a cool breeze continually blows from this well, and round about it are trees, and thence they carry logs and planks to Ámul¹, because of the fragrant scent of this wood. And one who sits on this wood in summer feels a coolness, and on these trees always sit birds of the kind called *saggá* (سَجَّا).

Near Rúyán is a well-known village called Sa'íd-ábád, where every child born in the summer dies in infancy, so that it has become customary for women who are with child and expect to be delivered during the summer months to quit the place and go elsewhere.

Near Kalár (کلار) there is a village called Dilam (دیلام), and

¹ The text has: که فرسب و پلور بآمل از آججا بیند، I conjecture the meaning of these two words, with which I have never met elsewhere.

no one who is born there survives his twentieth year.

Near Nátil ((ناتل)) is a village called Mandúr (مندور), where over an area of 60 *jaribs* when rice is sown so much water wells up from the ground that it suffices for all that rice-field without need of further irrigation, and at the time of reaping it all disappears. In the same district is another village called Nigáristán, on the summit of a hill, and in it is a rock, surrounded for five parasangs by plain and jungle, as far as Amul; and from this rock five streams of clear water issue forth, which are more abundant in proportion as the summer is hotter, while in winter they cease altogether.

Near Amul grows a herb called *Gunduya Zúma* (گندیہ زومہ), the properties of which are thus described:

اگر اورا بدنست مالند و نر قضیب مرد مالند انعاظ گیرد و درم
کند و دو چندان شود که بوده باشد و بعد یک ساعت با قرار
آید و آن گیاڑا برگهای خودک بود،

A peculiarity of the town of Jálús (Shálús) is that it makes people's skins white, so that if an Indian or Kábúlí girl remains there for one year, she becomes fair as a Greek or Slav.

In Wandád-Hurmuzd Kúh there is a place (f. 42a) into which, when there is a year of drought, the people throw triturated onions, whereupon rain at once falls, but the person who has pounded the onions dies within the year.

In Ummid-wár Kúh grows a herb called *Gúr-tír* (کور تیر), and if anyone picks it smiling, or weeping, or speaking well, or playing, and gives it to another to eat, that other, so long as the herb is in his stomach, behaves in the same way as did the gatherer while he was picking it.

Near Ṭabaristán is a place called Páníra-Kúh (پانیره کوه) or (پانیره کوه), where, in the time of al-Yazzádí, there was a dyke called Fíruz-Kúh, and adjoining this was another mountain whereon grew a poisonous herb.

Near Rúdbár hyacinths grow, and on Wandád-Hurmuzd-Kúh grow sweet rushes (الخر), as at Mecca, which they call *Mushkwásh* (مشکواش)¹.

In Siyáh-rúd, near Jamanú, in the village of Danákí, there is a whirlpool or eddy called *Kanzgírdáb*, where Alexander the Great buried the vast treasures which he had amassed. Many later kings and rulers have sought to recover them, but have always failed. Mákán the son of Kákí was the last to try, and he spent vast sums of money in removing the water, till at length he reached a point where signs of treasure, bricks and traces of buildings, were visible. "Tomorrow," said they, "we shall finish our task;" but that night the water again broke in and concealed all, while Mákán dreamed that a voice cried to him, "Weary not thyself in vain, for it was not laid up for thee." And thereafter no further attempt was made. Every twenty-five years there is a year of scarcity, and the price of corn goes up.

Anecdote of the Dragon and Sám-i-Nartmán.

The poet of Tabaristán² says:

تنه هشتہ تر بوم بدلبیری ای سوم،

There once appeared in Shahriyár-Kúh a dragon fifty thousand cubits (*gaz*) in length, and in that region, as far as the sea-coast, no animal dared pass through plain or mountain for fear of it (f. 42b), so that they abandoned that district, whereupon it advanced as far as Sári. Then the inhabitants besought Sám to help them, and he came forth, saw it from afar, and said, "With these weapons I

و اشنان دست از آن می سازند.¹

² Probably Abu'l-Amr, mentioned by the same title or f. 45a (p. 47 *infra*).

can do nothing." By the time he had prepared suitable weapons, the dragon had advanced to Aláraš near the sea-shore, and he came upon it at a place called Gáw-Kaláda (گاو کلاده). The dragon, on seeing Sám, rushed upon him. Sám smote it on the head with his mace, so that it fell asunder, and the dragon uttered so fearful a cry that all Sám's companions fell to the ground in terror. It then strove to encircle Sám with its tail, but he sprang back forty paces. It continued to move for three days and then died, and to this day no grass will grow on this spot, as is well known.

Section I, ch. IV.

Account of the kings, nobles, doctors, saintly and famous men, scribes, physicians, philosophers and poets of Tabaristán.

1. *Mázyár*. — He was one of the most capable princes who ever reigned. One day his trainer (إيص) was riding one of his favourite horses. "Do you detect any fault in this horse?" enquired Mázyár. "It is one of the finest to be found in all the world," answered the trainer; "what is wrong with it?" "There is no marrow in its shoulder-blades;" answered Mázyár. He then ordered the horse to be killed, and they found it was even as he had said.

On another occasion he was informed that a certain horse-breeder in Tukháristán had in his stud a horse valued at 100,000 *dirhams*. He at once despatched several experts in horseflesh to buy it for him. When they reached their destination, the owner would only allow them to look at the horse and not to ride it. It appeared to be a beautiful animal, well-proportioned, graceful and strong. They wrote to Mázyár for instructions. He replied (f. 43a): "Assuredly the owner would not impose such a condition unless he

was aware of some blemish in the animal. Before buying it, you must make it a condition that you shall be allowed to lassoo it. If, when the lassoo falls round its neck, it pricks up its ears, looks sharply down between its fore-feet, and draws its tail inwards, then buy it; but if it strains its neck against the noose, throws out its sides, and lays back its ears, then refuse to buy it." When they tried the experiment, it happened even as he had said, and they rejected it accordingly.

After his death the Caliph put 'Alí b. Zayn in his place in the Foreign Office (ديوان اشنا), but the despatches written by him were less rich in meaning than those penned by Mázyár. They asked him why this was so. He replied: "He wrote in his own language; I translate into Arabic." Mázyár's cunning and generosity, as well as his capture and execution at Surra-man-ra'a, will be mentioned in their proper place.

2. *Alandáy*¹ the son of Sukhrá, King of Ṭabaristán. In strength and courage he was reckoned the equal of Rustam. One night he rode forty parasangs after a stag, and at the end swam a river in flood, and slew the quarry.

اورا گفتند میڈست بورج²

3. *Wandád Hurmuzd* the son of *Alandáy*, also celebrated for his courage. His doughty deeds, and how he slew Farásha and "the Devil of Far'án" (Sálím of Far'án or Far'ghán)³, will be told in its proper place. When Hárúnu'r-Rashíd reached Ray, he sent [his son] al-Ma'mún to be laid in his lap, and he bestowed on al-Ma'mún villages whereof the revenues amounted to 1,600,000 *dirhams*. When he slew Farásha, he gave to the Ispahbad Sharwín, "King

¹ See Melgunof's *Südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 52.

² See Melgunof, p. 50 *ad calc.*

³ *Dhahír*, pp. 156, 158—159.

of the Mountains”¹, who came to help him, one third (وَلَانِكَ) of the spoils; and when, after the death of Fárásha, Hárunu'r-Rashíd came to Ray, Wandád Hurmuzd went out to meet him (f. 43b). When the Caliph’s eyes lighted upon him, he began to upbraid, reproach and fiercely threaten him, whereupon Wandád said, “I do not understand Arabic, but I perceive that the Commander of the Faithful is incensed against me, and is upbraiding me in unkind words. Why did he not speak thus when I was in my own highlands? Now that, unconstrained and of my own free will, I come before him loyally and obediently, it ill befits his greatness to address in such terms his guest and his faithful servant.” Hárún, when this was interpreted to him, admitted that he was in the right, increased his rank, and ordered a cushion to be brought that he might be seated. When the cushion was brought, Wandád, instead of sitting down on it, placed it on his head, saying, “A cushion from the Commander of the Faithful is an honour; it is better placed on the head.” When he rose up to depart, Hárún ordered the cushion to be sent with him.

Another day, while he was sitting with Hárún, the uncle of the latter entered the room. All those present rose up, except Wandád. This displeased the Caliph and those with him. Immediately afterwards Yazíd b. Murthad arrived and did obeisance. Wandád immediately rose up and paid homage to him. Everyone smiled, and Hárún said, “My uncle is my own flesh and blood, while this man is the least of my servants. Whence that uncalled for rudeness, and this unnecessary politeness?” Wandád Hurmuzd answered, “I did not recognize your uncle, and why should I rise up for one whom I do not know? But this is a brave and capable man, therefore I paid him a tribute of respect.

¹ Concerning this title, see Melgunof, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

When thou didst send him to my kingdom, he was encamped against me for a whole year, and every morning he set his army in battle-array in a different fashion. And I had there (f. 44a) a knight who was his equal in courage and valour, whom I sent out against him on the day of battle; but in less time than it takes one to draw a sword from its scabbard, I saw my champion's head fall before him. Next day I myself went out to meet him. He struck me such a blow with his sword as I had never before experienced. Before such a man, though he be my enemy, I willingly rise up." The Caliph was pleased at his speech, and thereafter promoted Yázíd b. Murthad to high rank.

In the palace of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, in the house of Umm Ja'far, there was a tame monkey, which was treated with the utmost respect. It used to be girt with a sword and girdle, and had assigned to its service thirty men, who rode with it when it went forth. Everyone who came to pay his respect at the court was required to kiss its hand and pay hommage to it; and it was of such evil nature that, in the words of the author:

جنبن شنیلم که آن بوزنه جند دختر بکارت بر داشته بود و
اباحت و لحادی از حیا و دیانت و حرمت شربعت می ورزید،

One day Yázíd b. Murthad went, after taking leave of the Caliph, to the house of Umm Ja'far to bid farewell to her. They brought the ape before him and bade him kiss its hand. He drew his sword and cut it in two, and turned back in anger. Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, being informed, summoned him and asked him what had impelled him to this action. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful! Shall I serve apes after having served Caliphs? No, by God, never!" So the Caliph forgave him. Muslim b. al-Walíd says in a threnody which he composed on him:

فَبِرْ بَارَانَ أَسْتَنْبِرَ ضَرِيجَهُ خَطَّراً تَفَاصَرُ دُونَهُ الْأَخْطَارُ

4. *Khurshid the son of Dázamíhr*¹. A prince of Khurásán once came to pay his respects to him with many gifts and offerings, and a lodging was assigned to him near the Ispahbad. He asked for dishes and trays whereon to arrange the presents (f. 44b). They brought from the Ispahbad's plate-room five hundred silver trays. The Khurásání demanded more. They sent to Farrukhán's daughter, the chief wife of the Ispahbad, and obtained from her five hundred more. The Ispahbad then received the presents from Khurásán on these thousand trays, and in return sent to the prince two thousand trays filled with presents of the produce of Ṭabaristán, together with 100,000 *dirhams*.

On another occasion a man brought to him as a present a cup set with jewels and shaped like a cock, the two eyes of which were formed by two large red rubies of great value. The Ispahbad accepted it, and rewarded the donor. Some time afterwards it was reported to him that the donor was boasting that he had rendered to the Ispahbad an unparalleled service. Thereupon the latter invited five hundred guests, including the donor of the cup, to a wine-party, and before each of them was set a cup shaped like it, but far better. The donor of the original cup apprehended the rebuke, apologized, and received back his gift together with twice its value in money.

5. *The Ispahbad Pádhúsbdán*². He used daily to feed six hundred men in three detachments, 200 in the morning, 200 at noon, and 200 at evening. 'Abdu'lláh Faḍlawayh as-Sarwí had fled from Muḥammed Yazíd and sought refuge with him. He made him an allowance of 200,000 *dirhams* for "bread-money", and continued it to his sons after he died.

¹ Melgunof, p. 50, *ad calc.* Coins of both these kings are extant. See, besides the references given by Melgunof, Vol. v of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 123.

² Melgunof, pp. 50—51; Noldeke's *Sasaniden*, p. 151, n. 2 *ad calc.*

SAVYIDS OF THE HOUSE OF THE PROPHET WHO RULED
IN TABARISTÁN.

1. Hasan b. Zayd b. Isma'īl (called *Zálíbu'l-hijára*, "the Stone-lifter", because of his strength) b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alí b. Abí Tálib. He was born and grew up at al-Madína, and was peerless in his time for courage, cunning and determination, as is strongly emphasized by [Ibn] Tabátabá al-'Alawí in his book called *Ansábu Ashráfi'l-Amṣár* ("Pedigrees of the Nobles of the Lands"). The cause of his insurrection and occupation of Tabaristán (f. 45a) will be mentioned in due course. One day when he had been bled Abu'l-Amr the poet of Tabaristán (شاعر طبری) came before him and recited this verse:

إِذَا كُتَبْتَ يَدُ الْحَجَّامَ سَطْرًا أَنَاكَ بِهَا الْأَمَانُ مِنَ السَّقَامِ
فَخَسِّمْكَ دَاهِ جَسْمِكَ بِالْحَتِّجَامِ كَخَسِّمْكَ دَاهِ مُلْكَ بِالْحَسَامِ

For those two couplets the poet received ten thousand *dírhams*¹.

2. Muḥammad b. Zayd ad-Dá'i ila 'l-Haqq, brother of the above. Volumes might be filled with his praises. Sayyid Imám-i-Musíd Abú Tálib relates that he had a learned secretary called Abu'l-Qásim al-Kátib al-Balkhí, noted for his eloquence and excellence, who used to say that this Prince so far excelled all others for whom he had acted as secretary that, to use his own expression, "I could have imagined that it was Muḥammad the Prophet of God dictating one of his revelations." 'Abdu'l-Azíz al-'Ijlí²) composed in his honour a *qasida* in which occurs the following verse:

¹ *Dhahír*, p. 282.

² See *Dhahír*, p. 282, where, at the beginning of the second *bayt*, جسمك stands for كحسنك.

³ *Dhahír*, p. 296.

وَإِذَا تَبَسَّمَ سَيْفُهُ بَكَتِ النِّسَاءُ مِنَ الْقِبَائِلِ
وَإِذَا تَخَضَّبَ بِالْدِمَاءِ خَرَجَنَ فِي سُودِ الْعَلَائِلِ

and received a gift of 30,000 *dirhams*. When Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz al-Ijlí, one of the great captains of that time, came before him at Amul, he alighted from his horse to do him honour, and Muhammád b. Zayd presented him with a million *dirhams* contained in a hundred bags, besides weapons and other presents. Every year he used to send a thousand¹ gold *dinárs* to the shrines of 'Alí, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and other illustrious members of his family; and when the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A. D. 847—861) destroyed the tombs of the Imáms, he was the first who repaired them.

Anecdote.

One day he was sitting at the Pension Office (*Díván-i-Atád*) and distributing pay to the troops. They brought before him a certain man, of whom he enquired to what tribe he belonged. "Abdu'sh-Shams," replied the man. "To what family?" asked Muhammád b. Zayd. The man was silent. "Art thou then of the children of Mu'áwiya?" he continued (f. 45b). The man answered in the affirmative. "By which son?" he further demanded. Again the man was silent. "Art thou then a son of Yazíd?" he asked. "Yes," answered the other. "O lad," said the Dá'í, "didst thou not perceive that thou should'st not be with the descendants of Abú Tálib?" Instantly the Sayyids there present drew their swords to slay him; but the Dá'í cried out at them, saying: "Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubayr was one day sitting distributing money when the herald announced a son of 'Umar b. Jurmúz. 'O Amír,' they exclaimed, 'this son of Jurmúz is fearful and afraid because his father slew Zubayr.' 'He is

¹ B. has "thirty thousand".

a man of great courage,' replied Muṣṭab, 'since he has risked being slain in retaliation for my father's death. Bid him approach, and take his gift, and depart in peace.' Then he gave him his journey-money and a horse, and sent trusty attendants with him to Ḥirāq, lest he should be slain on the way by the descendants of Abú Tálib, and dismissed him."

3. Ḥasan b. ‘Alí b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alí b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alí as-Sajjád b. Ḫusayn b. ‘Alí b. Abí Tálib, with the title of *an-Násiru'l-Kabir*, and the *kunya* of *Abú Muḥammad*. His virtue, learning, asceticism, and piety, and the results of his generosity, are still apparent in Gilán and Daylam, where also his way and doctrine command acceptance. His tomb, the College and Library which he founded, and the endowments bestowed by him, are still flourishing in Amul, while his grave is accounted holy, and visited by many pilgrims.

إِنَّا ذُكْرٌ أَوْصَافُ أَشْرَافٍ فَلَا مَنْدُورٌ دَفَّتِ
لَنْدُمْ تَأْبَنِي الْرَّغْرَاءُ زَهْرَ خَصَائِصٍ تَحْكِيمٌ فِيهَا مَكْرَهُ الْمُتَفَكِّرِ
أَئْمَانُ دِينِ اللَّهِ أَنْسَمْ وَقْدَ عَدَا لَنْمُ صَدْرُ مَخْرَابٍ وَذَرَوْهُ مِنْبَرِ

He had four sons, *Muhammad* (from whom he derived his *kunya* of *Abú Muhammad*) who died young, *‘Alí ash-Shá’ir* ("the Poet"), *Aḥmad Abú'l-Ḥusayn*, and *Ja‘far Abú'l-Qásim*. Three of these left issue, and their descendants reigned for a long while in Gilán and Daylam. The genealogy of each will be set forth in the (f. 46a) *Kitáb-i-Ansáb*. *Aḥmad b. an-Násir* was of the Imámi sect, and of his sons *Abú Ja‘far Muḥammad*, called *Ṣáhibu'l-Qalansuwa* ("the Wearer of the Persian hat") dwelt in Daylamán, and *Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan*, called *an-Naqib*, in Baghdad. Of the sons of *‘Alí as-Shá’ir* were *Abú ‘Abdi'l-láh Muḥammad al-Utrúsh* (الutrúsh), and *Abú ‘Alí Muḥammad b Alí ash-Shá’ir*, who held a distinguished position at Baghdad. The following verses are by him:

فَانْ كُنْتَ لَا تَدْرِي مَتَى أَنْتَ مَيِّتٌ وَ قَبْرُكَ لَا تَدْرِي بِأَيِّ مَكَانٍ فَحَسِبْكَ قَرْبُ الْمَنَاسِ فِيمَا مَلَكْتُهُ لَقَدْ كَانَ هَذَا مَرَّةٌ لِفَلَانٍ

He was a man of many accomplishments, and has written much poetry, and he was for a long while in the companionship of the Imám al-Hasan b. Alí al-‘Askarí (the Eleventh Imám of the “Sect of the Twelve”, who died A. H. 260), from whom he received instruction. Amongst his disciples were Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámtírí and Abu'l-'Alá as-Sarwí, of whose accomplishments ath-Tha'álíbí has spoken in the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr*¹. The following is a specimen of his powers of repartee:

یکی از مستفیدان بناحسین این دو بیت با دیگری کلمه میگفت از آنکه سید اطروش بود، ندانست چه میگوید، گفت یا هذا اُرفَعْ منْ صَوْتِكَ فَانْ يَأْذُنِي بَعْضَ مَا يُرْوِحَكَ،

4. *Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn al-Mu'ayyad Bi'llah 'Aqdudu'd-Dawla* and *Sayyid Abú Tálib Yaḥyá an-Nátiq bi'l-Haqq*, the sons of al-Husayn b. Hárún b. al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qásim b. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. al-Imám as-Sibṭ al-Hasan b. 'Alí b. Abí Tálib. It is said that not one of the Prophet's descendants who endeavoured by arms to claim his rights was more richly endowed with all the qualities requisite in an Imám than these two brothers. Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn carried on his propaganda in Daylamán, and all Gíl and Daylam responded to it. His treatise on the Excellence of 'Alí b. Abí Tálib is so eloquent and so well-reasoned that it might almost be described as a miracle. Of his other writings the best known are the *Kitábu't-Tajríd*, the *Kitábu'sh-Sharh*, the *Kitábu'l-Bulgha*, the *Kitábu't-Tabṣira* and the *Kitábu'l-Ifáda*, all of which are still

¹ See the Damascus ed. of that work, Vol. iii, p. 278—282, where some account is given both of al-Utrúsh, and of Abu'l-'Alá as-Sarwí.

in the hands of the Imáms (f. 46b) and are eagerly studied by their disciples. The titles of his other less known works are omitted. His poems form a bulky volume. The following verses are his:

وَ قَدْ سَبَكْتُ عِقْيَانَهُ نَارٌ مِّنْخَنَةٍ وَ بِالسَّبِيلِ عِقْيَانُ الْمِرْجَالِ يُهَذِّبُ
وَ قَدْ شَدَّبْتُهُ الْنَّاثِبَاتُ وَ إِنَّمَا تَفَرَّعَ غُصْنُ الْذُّوْجِ حِينَ يُشَدِّبُ

His early studies were pursued in Baghdad, first with Sayyid Abu'l-'Abbás, and then with the Qádi'l-qudát 'Abdu'l-Jabbár al-Hamadání. One night, when every one was asleep, he came to the house of the latter and awakened him to ask him a question on theology. "Did you come only for this?" enquired the Qádi. "Yes," he answered, "I thought that I might perchance die to-night, being in doubt as to a matter of religious doctrine." In his time Ibn Sukkara¹ wrote the following *qasida* against the descendants of 'Alí:

إِنَّ الْخَلَافَةَ مُدْ كَانَتْ وَ مُدْ بَدَأَتْ
مَوْسُومَةً بِفَتَى مِنْ آلِ عَبَّاسٍ
إِذَا أَنْفَضَى عَمْرُ هَذَا قَامَ ذَا خَلَعاً
فَلَاحَتِ الْشَّمْسُ وَ أَمْتَدَتِ عَلَى الْنَّاسِ
فَقُلْ لَمَنِ يَرْتَجِيَهَا غَيْرُهُمْ سَفَهَا
لَوْ شِئْتَ رَوَحْتَ كَرْبَ الظَّنِّ بِالْيَاسِ

Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn answered in the following verses:

فُلْ لَبْنِ سُكَّرَةِ يَا بَغْلَ عَبَّاسٍ
أَضَحَّكْتَ خَلَافَتُكُمْ مَنْكُوسَةَ الْرَّأْسِ

¹ Called al-Háshimí, a descendant of 'Alí b. al-Mahdí b. Abí Ja'far al-Manṣúr al-'Abbásí. See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. iii, pp. 115—118.

أَمَا الْمُطِيقُ فَلَا تُحْشِنِي دَوَائِرِ
يَعِيشُ مَا عَاشَ فِي ذُلٍّ وَ إِنْعَاسٍ
فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَمْدًا لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ
خَصَّ أَبْنَى دَاعِي بِتَاجِ الْعِرَفِ فِي الْنَّاسِ

Ibnu'l-Khayr the Násibí² answered this in a long *qasida* containing this verse:

أَبْنَى اللَّهُ إِلَّا مَا تَرَوْنَ فَمَا لَكُمْ غِضَابًا عَلَى الْأَقْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ

The Qádí Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad at-Tanúkhí, author of the *Kitábu'l-Faráj ba'da 'sh-Shiddat* (f. 47a) replied to this in the following poem:

مِنْ أَبْنَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَ أَبْنَى وَصِيَّةِ
إِلَيْيَ مَدْغَلَ فِي عُقَدَةِ الْدِينِ تَاصِبِ
نَشَاءَ بَيْنَ طُنَبُورَ وَ رِقَّ وَ مَرْقَرِ
وَ فِي حِاجِرِ شَادِ أَوْ عَلَى صَدَرِ صَارِبِ
وَ مِنْ ظَهَرَ سَكَرَانِ إِلَيْ بَطْنِ فَنْيَةِ
عَلَى شُبَهَةِ فِي مَلْكَهَا وَ سَوَائِبِ
تَعَيْنُ عَلَيَا خَبَرَ مَنْ وَنَى الْحَحَا
وَ أَكْرَمَ سَارَ فِي الْأَنَامِ وَ سَارِبِ
وَ بُزْرِي عَلَى السِّبَطَيْنِ سِبَطَيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ
فَقُلْ فِي حَصِيصِ رَامَ بَيْلَ الْكَوَاكِبِ
نَشَوا بَيْنَ جَبَرِيلَ وَ بَيْنَ مُحَمَّدَ
وَ بَيْنَ عَلَى خَبْرِ مَاسِ وَ رَاكِبِ
وَصِيَّ الْتَّبَيِّ الْمُمْضَطَقِي وَ صَعِيَّهِ
وَ مُشَبِّهِ فِي شِيمَةِ وَ ضَرَائِبِ

² *Násibí* is a term of reproach applied by the Shí'ites (or *Ráfidís*) to their opponents.

فَكِمْ مِثْلَ زَيْدَ قَدْ أَبَادَ سُيُوفُكُمْ
 بِلَا سَبَبَ غَيْرَ الظُّنُونِ الْكَوَافِرِ
 أَمَا حَمَلَ الْمَنْصُورُ مِنْ أَرْضِ يَثْرِيبِ
 نُذُورَ فُلُقَ يَجْلُو ظَلَامَ الْغَيَّابِ
 وَ فَطَعْتُمْ بِالْبَغْيِ قَوْمَ مُحَمَّدَ
 فَرَائِسَنَ أَرْحَامَ لَهُ وَ فَرَائِسَ
 وَ فِي أَرْضِ بَاحْمَرَا مَصَابِيحُ فَدْ تَوْتُ
 مُتَرَبَّةَ الْهَامَاتِ حُمْرَ الْتَّرَائِبِ
 وَ غَادَرَ قَادِبَكُمْ بِفَخْيِ طَوَائِعاً
 بُعَادِلُهُمْ بِالْقَلَاعِ نَقْعُ الْنَّوَاعِبِ
 وَ قَارُونَكُمْ أَوْحَى بَعْيَرِ جَرَرَةِ
 نُجُومَ تُفَيِّ مِثْلَ أَنْدَحُومَ الْتَّرَافِبِ
 وَ مَامُوكُمْ سَمَ الْأَرِضاً بَعْدَ بَيْعَةِ
 تَوَدُّ دُرَى شُمَ الْجِبَالِ الْرَّوَاسِبِ
 فَهَدَا جَوَانِ لِلَّذِي قَالَ مَا لَكُمْ
 غَصَابَاً عَلَى الْأَفْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ

When Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn had occupied Daylamán and established himself therein, men of learning came from all parts of the world to profit by his conversation, so that he even sent a message to the *Qádi'l-qudát* 'Abdu'l-Jabbár bidding him swear allegiance to him. The Hákím al-Jaysham¹ in his book entitled *Filā'u'l-Abṣára* relates that he died on Sunday, the day of 'Arafa [i. e. the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja], A. H. 421 (= Dec. 8, A. D. 1030), aged seventy years and

¹ Or *Fathim*, *Juthaym*, *Jaytham*, etc. See *H. Kh.*, № 4133, where a book named *Filā'u'l-Abṣára* is mentioned by Abú Sa'íd al-Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Chashmí (or "Joshemí"), who is perhaps identical with the author here mentioned.

odd, and that he was buried on the Monday, the *'Idu'l-Adha* (10th of Dhū'l-Hijja) in his home at Lanká, where his tomb is still visible. His doctrine is still (f. 47b) followed by the people of that region, and the Ustundár Kay Ká'ús and his descendants, and the people of Daylam generally.

5. *Sayyid an-Nátiq-bi'l-Haqq Abú Tálib Yahyá b. al-Husayn at-Táfir bi-ta'yíd illáh* was ten years older than his brother Sayyid Mu'ayyad bi'lláh, and was famous alike for his wisdom and his virtues. The father of these two brothers was of the Imámí sect, as were they also originally. This Sayyid received instruction first from Sayyid Abu'l-'Abbás, then from the great Imámí teacher Shaykh Abú 'Abdi'lláh; and imparted it to 'Abdu'l-Jabbár *Qádi'l-quddát*; and amongst the Zavdíes there was no more learned seeker after trutht. He taught for several years in the College in Gurgán, where his lectures were much frequented by the learned. Later he went to Daylamán, and when his brother died, allegiance was sworn to him. When he became Imám, Abu'l-Faraj 'Alí b. al-Husayn wrote to him:

سَرَّ النَّبُوَةَ وَ النَّبِيَّا وَ زَفَّا الْوَصِيَّةَ وَ الْوَصِيَّا
أَنَّ الدِّيَالَمَ بَأَيَّعَتْ يَحْيَى بْنَ هَارُونَ الْرَّضِيَّا

On his son, who died young, the Sayyid composed the following threnody:

عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ سَاكِنَ بَلْفَعٍ
فَلَيْسَ إِلَيَّ تَفْعِي الْحَمَامِ سَبِيلٌ
وَ لَيْسَ إِلَيَّ غَيْرُ الْتَّصَبِيرِ مَفْزَعٌ
وَ لَمْ يَنْعَنْ خَطْبٌ فِي الْمُصَابِ جَلِيلٌ
وَ لَمْ كَانَ حُزْنُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ إِيَّاهُمْ
قَصِيرًا فَهَا حُزْنِي عَلَيْكَ طَوِيلٌ

وَإِنْ كُنْتَ تَحْتَ أَثْرَبٍ فِي الْرَّمْسِ نَارِلَا
فَذْكُرْكَ فِي حَشْوِ الْفُوَادِ تَزِيلُ
وَلَوْلَا مَقْلُلُ النَّاسِ قَارَقْ حَلْمَهُ
لَشْقَعْ تَسْكَابْ الْدَّمْوعِ عَوِيزْ

Sayyid Abú Tálib Yahyá was born in A. H. 340 (= A. D. 951–2), and died in A. H. 422 (= A. D. 1031), aged 82, less than a year after his brother. Of his philosophical works the best known are the *Kitábu 't-Tákrír*, the *Commentary* on the *Kitábu'l-Mujzí*, and the *Kitábu'd-Dímá'a* (f. 48a).

6. *As-Sayyidu'l-Imámú'l-Faqíhu'l-Álimu'l-Mutakallimu'sh-Shá'ir al-Hasan b. Hamza al-'Alawí*. His tomb is opposite the College of Zaynu³ sh-Sharaf. King Ardashír was induced to repair and renovate it by Sayyid Imám Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Hasan b. Mahdí al-Mámtírí. He was for many years in religious retirement at the shrine of the Imám 'Alí b. Músá ar-Riḍá at Mash-had, in praise of which town he composed the following *qasída*:

أَبْدُرْ تَمَّ زَاهِرْ لَمْ نُورْ شَمْسَ بَاهِرْ
أَمْ غُصْنُ بَانِ نَاصِرْ يَبْخَارْ فِيهِ الْنَّاظِرْ
أَخْيَرْ زَرَانِ حَصْرُقَا لَمْ أَفْحَوْنَ تَغْرِقَا
أَمْ جُنْجُحْ لَيْلَ شَعْرُقَا لَمْ هَيَّ تَوْرَ زَاهِرْ
فَالْأَصْبَحْ مِنْ غُرْتِهَا وَالْأَلَيْلُ مِنْ طُرْتِهَا
وَالْمَسْكُ مِنْ تَكْهِتِهَا لَهَا تَسِيمُ طَاهِرْ
إِذَا مَشَتْ يُفْلِفُهَا لِنَغْمَةَ فُرْطَفَهَا
يَغْنِنِي مَنْلَفُهَا وَحَلْشُ (?) فَوَاتِرْ
كَالْبَدْرِ فِي تِمَثَالِه وَالْغُصْنِ فِي أَعْنَدَالِه
فَالْأَفْلَقُبُ مِنْ خَبَالِه لِدَائِه مُسْخَامِرَ

لَا وَمَنْذِلَةُ يَعْلَمُ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ طُرُّا وَ السَّمَا
 كُنْتُ لَهَا أَحَادِيرُ
 مِنْ غَيْرِ فُلْكَشِ وَ دَزْرُ
 إِذْ هُوَ رَبُّ غَافِرُ
 وَ خَلَ عَنْ سُمَارِهَا
 لِأَرْضِ طُرُّوسِ زَائِرُ
 تِيهَاءَ دَاتِ فَرَقَدِ
 يَتِيَّةُ فِيهِ الْمَاهِرُ
 زَيَّافَةُ حَفَّافَةُ
 فِي سَبِّرِهَا تُسْجَاطِرُ
 فِي غَيْرِ مَا كَلَالَهَا
 إِذَا حَدَّافَا الْزَاجِرُ
 مِنْ آمِلَ وَ تَازِلًا
 بَفْطَعَهَا الْمُسَافِرُ
 حَبِّنَ إِلَيْهَا حَدَّهَا
 إِذَا السَّرَّانُ مَائِرُ
 أَظْنَ حَتَّا نَاهِبَةُ
 بَوْمَا وَأَنَّتَ بَاكِرُ
 لِمَهْرَوَانَ دَاكِرًا
 مِنْ بَعْدِهَا قَوَاجِرُ
 بِرَامِكَ مِنْ عَاينَهُ
 يَدْعُرُ مِنْهُ الْدَاعِرُ
 إِلَّا وُفُوفَ الْمُنْتَحِرُ
 وَ الْقَلْبُ مِنْكَ طَائِرُ
 مِنْ آسْتَرَابَادَ مَعَا

مَا نَلَتْ مِنْهَا مَجْرِمَا
 غَيْرَ حَدِيبَثَ وَ نَظَرُ
 وَ اللَّهُ خَيْرُ مَنْ غَفَرَ
 فَعَدَ عَنْ تَذَكَّارِهَا
 إِذْ أَنْتَ بَعْدَ دَارِهَا
 وَ رَبُّ قَفْرِ فَدَقَدِ
 كَصَارِمُ مُبَاجِرِ
 قَطَعْتُهَا بِنَافَةِ
 مَفَهَافَةِ لَفَافَةِ
 تَسْتَنُ فِي لِرْفَالِهَا
 تَطَرَّبُ فِي تَرْحَالِهَا
 بِهَا حَدَّوْتَ رَاجِلَا
 مَنَازِلًا عَوَاطِلَا
 فَمَامَطِيرُ قَصْدُهَا
 تَرُوعُ قَلْبِي وَ خُدُهَا
 بَا صَاحِحُ حُثَّ النَّاجِبَةِ
 حَتَّى تُوَافِي سَارَبَةَ
 نُمَّ أَعْدَ مِنْهَا بَاكِرَا
 مُفَطَّعَا قَوَاجِرَا
 حَتَّى تُوَافِي نَامِنَهُ
 بَخَافُ مِنْهَا مَامَنَهُ
 وَ فِي تَمِيشِ لَا تَغْفِرُ
 ثُمَّ أَعْدَ مِنْهَا وَ أَنْصَرِ
 يَا صَاحِبَيِ وَ دِعَا

وَ لِلرِّبَاطِ فَاقْطَعَا وَ الْرَّبْعُ مِنْهُ دَائِرٌ
 وَقْفٌ بِجَرْجَانَ فَعِي مَوْبِعُهَا مَا يَشْتَفِي
 بِحَظِّهِ وَ بِكُشْتَفِي وَارِدُقَا وَ الْصَّادِرُ
 عَدَ أَغْتَدَتْ أَشْجَارُهَا ثُرْصُعَهَا أَنْهَارُهَا
 وَ أَسْنَوبَعْتَ نِمَارُهَا وَأَخْضَرَتِ الْتَّسَاكِرُ
 أَطْيَارُهَا دَرَاجُهَا يَطْرِبُنِي تَهْيَاجُهَا
 تَدْرِجُهَا قَرَاجُهَا فَالْكُلُّ مِنْهَا صَافِرٌ
 تَعْهَا وَ عَدَ قَاصِدًا دِبَنَارَ زَارِي رَائِدًا
 لِفَصْدَهَا مُجَاهِدًا أَوْسِرْ وَ أَنْتَ شَاكِرُ
 لِشِيرَاسِفْ (؟) جَاوِرًا فَطَعْتَهَا مُجَاهِرًا
 أَخْطُرُ مِنْهَا جَامِرًا حَتَّى أَتَيْتُ مَعْلَمًا
 لَا سَفَرَائِينَ مَعَا فَصَرْ فِيهِ عَابِرٌ
 نُمْ وَرَدَتْ الْمَعْلَمَيِّي وَ مَاءُ كَالْحَنْظَلَ
 يَنَالُهُ مِنْ قَرِيلٍ تَعَافُهُ الْجَانِدُونَ

He was commonly called Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim; and it is related that “the Great Násir” (ناصر كبير), that most accomplished and eloquent scholar, used to say, “Were it lawful to repeat the verses of anyone in one’s prayers, it would assuredly be the verses of Abu'l-Qásim!”

7. *As-Sayyid Shamsu 'Alī Rasúl'lláh*. He was a dervish, skilled in the traditions, and of ascetic and devout life. His tomb still stands outside the Gate, in the 'Awámma-kúy quarter (بدر دروازه عالمه کوي). Other learned Sayyids (? descendants of the above) contemporary with the author were: Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín Nassába of Gurgán, whose skill in scholastic theology and jurisprudence are recognized by all; Sayyid Ruknu'd-Dín of Sári; and his learned and vir-

tuous brother Sayyid Sharafu'd-Dín, whose tomb is in the College of Sayyid Imám Khaṭíb, opposite Mashhad-i-Sar, and who did much to check the Zaydí and propagate the Imámí doctrines in those districts.

8. *As-Sayyidu'l-Imám Abú Ṭálib ath-Tha'ir*. He was one of five brothers, whose grandfather was called "Husayn the Poet" (حسین الشاعر). His brother was "the Great Násir", and his father was known as Muḥammad al-Fáris. *Násir-i-Kabír*'s daughter had a servant named 'Umayr, and after the men of Gíl and Daylam had taken Ṭabaristán from the Sayyids, this servant also revolted, went to Gilán, and gave over all his master's property to be plundered. The men of Gilán rallied round him and forsook the Sayyid, who expressed his feelings in the following verses:

يَا آلَ يَسَّ أَمْرُكُمْ عَاجِبٌ
بَيْنَ الْوَرَى قَدْ جَرْتُ مَقَادِيرُهُ
لَمْ يَكُفِّكُمْ فِي حِجَازِكُمْ عُمُرٌ
حَتَّى بِجِيلَانَ جَاءَ تَصْغِيرُهُ

RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF BÁWAND.

This section opens with a glowing panegyric on this noble family, whose court is described, in very florid language, as an ever-open refuge to the distressed and the unfortunate.

1. *The Ispahbad* 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí b. Shahriyár b. Qárin. His virtues, his doughty deeds, and how he secured the kingdom to himself in spite of jealous brothers and kinsmen will be mentioned subsequently. Amongst those who took refuge at his court were the following. *Shirzád*¹, son of Sultán Maṣ'úd (III) of Ghazna, who for a while shared the throne of Ghazna with Bahrámsháh (his brother). When he expressed a desire to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecea,

¹ See Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 289 and 290. He reigned A. H. 508—509 (= A. D. 1114—1115).

the *Ispahbad* arranged his journey and supplied all that he needed day by day at every stage. After his return he was enabled to proceed once more to Ghazna.

Sultán Mas'ud b. Muḥammad the Seljúq, nephew of Sinjar, twice took refuge with the *Ispahbad*; first, when the Caliph [al-Mustarshid] was assassinated [A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135] he came thither with his son; secondly, when he quarrelled with Tughril, he brought his women-folk thither, and placed them in the hamlet of Aram (أرام) in the palace of the *Ispahbad*'s son Sháh-i-Ghází Rustam, while he himself received help to enable him to return to 'Iráq.

When Muḥammad b. Ma'líksháh died, all his sons took the oath of allegiance to Maḥmúd, and when he died they fell to fighting with one another, and Tughril, being defeated, fled to his [the *Ispahbad*'s] house. At the Pass (*Darband*) of Kílís he was stopped by 'Alí b. Zarrín-Kamar, and his two brothers Muḥammad and Abú Shujá'. He told then that he was flying from pursuing foes, but they told him that without the King's permission he could not advance. When news of this was sent to Sháh-i-Ghází Rustam, he at once rode out as far as the village of Maqṣúra, brought in Tughril, and sent him to Sári to his father the *Ispahbad*.

Khwárazmsháh-i-Sa'íd Muḥammad had four sons, who, on his death, fell to quarrelling, and two of them fled to the *Ispahbad*, who heaped such favours upon them that men still talk of his bounty.

The *Amír 'Abdu'r-Rahmán Tugha-Turk* (طغاترک) the *Atábek* came to his court from Ardabil with a number of his retainers, and was hospitably entertained and then sent back along the coast to his kingdom. 'Imádí the poet, who was the panegyrist of this *Atábek*, speaks of him as follows:

عبد الرحمن که گر خواهد^۱ از هفت سپهر شش بکاهد

^۱ MS. نخواهد, which must, I think, be wrong.

The *Amir* of *Hilla*, the son of Şadaqa "King of the Arabs", one of the most puissant, noble, generous and high-minded princes of the world, accompanied by 200 of his mounted retainers, took refuge with the *Ispahbad*, who on the first day of his arrival sent him a present consisting of 200 caparisoned horses, 300 coats and caps (فبا وکلا), 100 girdles, swords, coats of mail, helmets, and suits of horse-armour, and 10,000 gold *dinárs*. On another occasion Barraka (بُرڪا), the brother of the above-mentioned *Amir*, came to beg the *Ispahbad* to intercede for him with the Caliph, whom he had offended. The *Ispahbad* did so, obtained for him a written pardon and assurance of safety, and supplied him with money and other necessaries to take him back to his kingdom.

When Qatirmish (قطيرمش) rebelled against the Sultán, he confided his brothers, children and women-folk to the *Ispahbad*'s care; they received from him the utmost kindness and attention, and, when it was safe, were sent back to their home.

2. *The Ispahbad Nuṣratu'd-Dín Rustam*, son of the above. He was, according to the author, the greatest ruler of Tabaristán since the time of Ferídún and Mínúchihr, and the greatest possessor of treasures since Khusraw Parwíz. His power extended from Jájarm, Gurgán, Bisṭám and Dámghán to Múqán. He was the first of this House to sit on a throne at his receptions. Even in the author's time there remained forty castles filled with the gold and jewels and other precious things which he had amassed. When Kayká'ús Ustundár, with the approval of his chief judge, revolted against him, he marched to Rúyán to meet him, devastating and setting fire to the whole country. On this the *Ispahbad* Khurshíd b. Abu'l-Qásim Mámtírí composed the following verses in the dialect of Tabaristán¹:

¹ Variants: B. بسوجن *foi* بوجن; C. تدبیر لاس;

تدبیر کردہ کاری کی کوشک بسو جن
 اون کہ شیء کوشک بر بد و تا بلوجن
 نون کشور بوین سو جن کھون اروجن
 تدبیر کردہ کاری دبر هار موجن

After the death of Sinjar, his nephew Sulaymán Sháh fled from Maḥmúd Khán, the successor of Sinjar and his sister's son, and took refuge with the Ispahbad Rustam while he made preparations for attempting to recover 'Iráq. During the two months that he spent there, he and his followers were entertained daily at tables set in the Maydán-i-Tápán, till he had collected 20,000 man of Gílán, Daylamán and other parts of Ṭabaristán. The *Ispahbad* further supplied him with the necessary arms, stores and munitions of war, brought him to Ray, and set him on the throne. The *amírs* of 'Iráq and Adharbayján gathered round him, and Ray and Sáwa were surrendered to the *Ispahbad*. When Sultán Maḥmúd Khán learned his absence from Ṭabaristán, he marched thither with all Sinjar's *amírs*. In two days the *Ispahbad* hastened thither from Ray, and encamped at the hamlet of Kúsán at the foot of the Castle of Ab-Dara; and one night gave permission to king Qárín (پادشاه قرین) to attack the Turks with 400 *ghuláms* and 500 men of Báwand. These penetrated to Sultán Maḥmúd's quarters, inflicting considerable losses on the Seljúq troops. Next day Maḥmúd sent his kinsman Mu'ayyid Áyi Ába to attack and plunder Sári. The *Ispahbad* sent his son Hasan Sharafu'l-Mulük by way of Lákash-i-Mihrawán to lie in ambush for the raiders, who fell into the ambush. A thousand Turks, including a kinsman of Sultán Maḥmúd, were taken captive, while Mu'ayyid, with a few followers, succeeded in effecting

A. om. [کوشک]; C. بدد; B. او روجن; A. om. [کردہ], B. substitutes ۸; C. مار for هار.

his escape. The *Ispahbad* treated the prisoners kindly, bestowed on them robes of honour, and sent them to Maḥmúd Khán with the following message: "Our people are independent house-holders, and what they do is done without our sanction." Maḥmúd than sent one of his chief nobles, 'Azíz-i-Ṭughrá'i, to the *Ispahbad*, and it was agreed that in consideration of the sum of 20,000 *dínárs* the Sultán should withdraw to Gurgán, and that the *Ispahbad* should pay over this sum to the tithe-collectors (*muḥásṣilán*). When Maḥmúd had retired to Gurgán, the *Ispahbad* drove away the collectors, bidding them say to their master, "We gave up the money for [fear of] their maces"

بِرَوْبِدْ وَ اُورَا بِكُوئِيدْ مَا زَرْ بِزِرْوِينْ دَادِيْمْ،

The trouble which at this juncture broke out in Khurásán prevented Sultán Maḥmúd from taking any further steps; and he was nick-named in Ṭabaristán "Maḥmúd the Wheat-crusher" (*gandum-kúb*), because his soldiers, finding no bread, used to cut and crush the ears of wheat which they found, and eat them.

Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát, the Court-poet and secretary of Atsiz Khwárazm-sháh, composed many *qaṣidas* in praise of the *Ispahbad*, who in return used each year to send him 500 *dínárs*, a turban and coat (*jubba*), and a fully caparisoned horse. He composed the following *qaṣida* on the occasion when the *Ispahbad* went to Ray and seated Sulaymán Sháh on the throne:

جَلَّ لَكَ بَادٌ فِي خَرَاسَانَ بَاهِرٌ وَ ذَكْرُكَ سَارٍ فِي الْعِرَافَيْنِ سَائِرٌ
وَأَنْتَ حُسَامُ الْدِيْنِ فِي نُصُورِ الْهَلَقِيِّ حُسَامٌ إِذَا كَلَّ لِلْبَوَاتِرِ بَانِرٌ
غَدَّا الْتَّرَى وَ الْأَكْبَادُ فِيهَا جَرِيَّةً لَعْدَكَ وَ الْأَجْفَانُ فِيهَا سَوَاهِرٌ
تَعْرَقَ مِنْ بَعْدِ التَّحَجُّمِ شَمْلَهَا وَ دَارَتْ عَلَيْهَا بِالْبَلَى يَا الْدَّوَاثِرُ
فَمَا قَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِتَقْوَاكَ ذَاكِرٌ وَ لَا سَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِجَذْوَكَ شَاكِرٌ.

لِسَانُ الْلَّيْلَى عَنْ مَسَاعِيكَ قَاصِرُ
 وَ صَيْنُكَ فِي أَقْصَى الْأَقْلَالِمِ سَائِرُ
 فَمَا مَغْلُهُ فِي النَّاسِ نَاهٍ وَ امْرُ
 وَ يُمْنَاكَ بَحْرٌ فِي الْمَوَاهِبِ زَاهِرٌ
 وَ أَنْتَ إِلَى رَفِيعِ الْمُهِمَّاتِ قَادِرٌ
 وَ لَا لِعَبَادِ اللَّهِ غَيْرُكَ نَاصِرٌ
 أَمَّا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَصْرَعِ الْبَغْيِ حَاجِرٌ
 أَمَّا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَوْكِبِ الظُّلْمِ زَاجِرٌ
 إِذَا عُدِدَتْ لِلأَكْرَمِينَ الْمَعَاخِرُ
 وَ لِكُنْتِي فِي مَدْبِحٍ غَيْرِكَ شَاعِرٌ
 وَ نَمْ غَانِيًّا مَا حَرَرَ النَّطْمَ شَاعِرٌ
 فَعِشْ سَالِيًّا مَا حَرَرَ النَّثَرَ كَاتِبٌ

أَيَا مَلَكًا رَحْبَ الظُّصُورِ عَرَاعِرًا
 جَلَلَكَ فِي أَعْلَى السَّمَاوَاتِ صَاعِدًا
 أَبَا مَالَكًا لِلْأَمْرِ وَ النَّهَيِ فِي الْهَنْتَى
 مُحَيَاكَ بَدْرَ فِي الْغَيَّا هِبَ زَاهِرٌ
 وَ أَنْتَ إِلَى دَفْعِ الْمُلْمَاتِ مَائِلٌ
 فَمَا لِبَلَادِ اللَّهِ غَيْرُكَ حَافِظٌ
 أَمَّا لَهُمْ مِنْ مَشْرِعِ الْغَيِّ حَاجِزٌ
 أَمَّا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَكْسِبِ الْإِنْسِ وَارِعٌ
 تَمْتَعْ بِمَدْحِي فَهُوَ أَكْرَمُ مَفْخِرٌ
 أَلَا إِنِّي فِي مَدْبِحٍ غَيْرِكَ شَاعِرٌ
 فَعِشْ سَالِيًّا مَا حَرَرَ النَّثَرَ كَاتِبٌ

On another occasion, when the Ispahbad went to Ray, set his own governor over it, and held it for a year and a half, Rashid-i-Watwat composed and sent to him the following poem:

وَ خَلْفَكَ كَالْمُسْكِ الْدَّكِيِّ يَفْوحُ
 بِنَفْعِ غَلِيلِ الْمُعْتَفِي وَ تَرُوحُ
 بِهَا لِجَيْوِشِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَتُوْحُ
 صَفَاحَ بِاسْرَارِ الْكَفَاحِ تَبُوحُ
 وَ تَلَكَ مَعْبَ الْكُفَرِ وَ فُوْ جَمْوحُ
 بَنَاهَا عَلَى رَغْمِ الْمَعَاطِسِ نُوحُ
 وَ أَفَوْالُكُمْ لِلْمُشْكَلَاتِ شُرُوحُ
 لَهَا مِنْ دِماءِ الْدَّارِعِينَ صَبُوحُ
 بِهِنَّ شَيَاطِينُ الْقَرَاعِ تَطُوحُ
 عَلَيْهِنَّ رَبَّنُ الْحِجَابِيَّ تَنُوحُ

جَيْبُنَكَ كَالْبَدْرِ الْمُصِيَّ بَلْوَحُ
 وَ تَائِلَكَ الْعَيْاصِ تَغْدُو غُبْوَهُ
 لَكَ الْوَائِيَةُ الْتَّرَهَاءُ فِي كُلِّ وَقَعَةٍ
 لَهَا الْسُّنْ فِي الْحَجَوِ مِنْ عَذَبَاتِهَا
 فَفَلَكَ حَدَّ الظُّلْمِ وَ هُوَ مُدَرَّبٌ
 فَكَمْ لِلْعُلَى يَا آلَ فَارَنَ سُورَةُ
 فَأَفْعَالُكُمْ لِلْمُعَصَلَاتِ دَوَافِعُ
 لِيَمَانُكُمْ يَوْمَ الْصَّبَاحِ صَوَارِمُ
 لِجَنْدَكَ فِي أَرْضِ الْعِرَاقِ وَقَائِعُ
 فَكَمْ مِنْ نُفُوسٍ بِالْعَرَاءِ طَرِيقَةُ

. فَلَا بَلْدٌ إِلَّا وَفِيهِ زَلَزْلٌ وَ لَا خَلْدٌ إِلَّا وَفِيهِ فُرُوحٌ
بَقِيَتْ مَدَى الْأَيَامِ فِي عِزَّ الْأَنْعُمِ عَلَيْهِنَّ أَنْوَارُ الْدَّوَامِ تَلُوحُ

The following verses are from a *qaṣida* which the same poet composed in honour of the Ispahbad when he took the Castles of Mihrín and Manúr-kūh (منور کوه) from the Assassins:

أَيَا مَنْ إِلَى تَادِيهِ تَأْوِي الْأَمَاجِدُ
وَ تَا مَنْ تَلُوذُ الْأَكْرَمُونَ بِظَلَمِهِ
الَّذِي إِنَّهُ فِي الْعِلْمِ لِنْ حُدَّ عَالَمَ
أَبَا نُصْرَةَ الْدَّبِينَ الَّذِي عَقَوَانِهُ
فَاطَّرَافَهَا لِلرَّاهِبِينَ مَعَافِلُ
لَسَانُكَ لَا تُسْجِرِي عَلَى عَدَبَانِهِ
فَهُنَّ لِآفَافِ الْمَعَالِمِ كَوَاكِبُ
بَلَغَتْ مِنَ الْعَلْبَابِ مَنْزِلَةَ لَهَا
حَوَّتْ عَلَى رَغْمِ الْأَلْوَافِ مِنَ الْعَدَا
فَتَجْهَدُ وَ الْأَبْدَانُ مِنْهُمْ فَوَارَغُ
وَ كَيْفَ سَاوِبَكَ الْعَلَقَى نُلَّ عَرْشَهُمْ
بِعَهْدِكُمْ بَا آلَ قَارَنِ أَصْبَاحَتْ
فَمِنْهُلَكُمْ عَدْبُ لَمَنْ هُوَ وَارِدٌ
فَمِنْكُمْ جِبَلُ الْبَاعِيَاتِ رَوَاسِخُ
وَ هَنَّتُكُمْ حَرَدَاءِ بُهَدَ لَدَى الْوَغْيِ
فَأَنْتَ لَهَا فِي قَامَةِ الْشُّرُكِ غَامِدٌ
مُؤْكَدٌ لِلَّذِيَّنِ مِنْهَا الْمَعَافِدُ
وَ دَمْتَ رَخْيَ الْبَالِ مَا صَاحَ رَاعِدُ

The author says that, through many Arabic-writing poets

have praised the House of Báwand, he has only cited Ra-shíd-i-Waṭwát because he was the greatest and most famous of their panegyrists, and because his own eulogies would be discounted by reason of his connection with the Dynasty, and the country over which it ruled.

One of the customs of the Ispahbad Rustam was that at the close of a wine-bout he would give permission to his boon-companions to take what they liked from his treasury. On one such occasion his kinsman the Amír Sábiqú'd-Dawla 'Alí Gílkhwárán, 'Alí Riḍá the chamberlain (وكيل دري) and his sons, As'adu'd-Dín Ḥusayn "the madman" (*dítwána*), the Nidhám Muḥammad and the Qiwám Farámarz went together, when they rose up from drinking, to the treasury, but found that all the money and jewels and most precious things had been already taken, and that only some bundles (رزم) of silk were left. So each of them took three bundles of silk on their backs and twisted the contents of another round their feet. Being thus heavily laden, certain wits likened them to asses carrying bales of merchandise, and Bárbad-i-Jarídí, the Ṭabarí poet, extemporized the following couplet over them in the dialect of Ṭabaristán:

أين دو خر که دارنه پادشاه لیرون یکی خر بین نیکه یکی پیلورن

Another of the Ispahbad's customs was that he would not suffer poets to recite his praises in his presence, saying, "They falsely ascribe to me deeds which I never performed, and thereby I am put to shame." At length a poet named Mudhaffarí came from Khurásán and said, "I will praise you for deeds that you have done," and he than recited a poem beginning:

جنت عدست گوئی کشور مازندران
در حرم حرمت اصفهان اصفهان

For each couplet he was rewarded with ten gold *dindárs*, and he also received a horse, a coat (قبا) and a hat (کلا).

3. *The Ispahbad Táju'l-Mulük 'Ali b. Mardáwíj.*

He was sent by his father to Merv in the reign of Sinjar, who gave him his sister in marriage, and held him so dear that he would not go forth from his palace until he had first seen him. On his father's death, he was made ruler of the Castle of Jahína and the country round about Tammísha (تیشہ بیرون). On the death of Sinjar, Sulaymán Sháh, who succeeded to the Seljúq throne, first took refuge with him.

Mardáwíj was one of the hardest and most expert riders ever seen. He would sometimes, on mounting, put a gold coin between each foot and the stirrup and gallop till mid-day without letting either slip out. One day when he and Sulaymán Shah were encamped together at Gulpáyagán, there was a wager between them, the former betting a certain Arab horse, 4000 royal *dínárs*, and 100 silken garments, etc., against a favourite slave belonging to the latter. Mardáwíj won the wager, but at once sent back the slave-boy mounted on the Arab horse fully caparisoned, and accompanied by two other slaves. The great poet Anwarí composed in his praise, besides other poems, the *qaṣida* beginning:

ای در نَبِّدْ حَيْدَرِ كَرَّارِ روزگارِ نَاجِ الْمُلُوكِ صَعْدَارِ صَفَدَارِ روزگارِ

In the service of Sultán Mas'úd the Seljúq was a certain champion called Sábiq of Qazwín, whose fame had spread throughout 'Iráq, Arabia and Khurásán. Him the Ispahbad induced to enter his service, giving him Bisṭám, Dámghán and Jájarm in order that he might combat the Assassins. This Sábiq was very prodigal, and on one occasion he wrote to the Ispahbad complaining that he lacked money to pay his troops. The Ispahbad turned to his nobles and said, "He is an ocean (in munifence): what adequate gift can one confer on the ocean? Let 20,000 *dínárs* be now

sent to him, and let an order be written that henceforth all that he can conquer in those regions shall be his, together with the fief-holds there."

4. *The Ispahbad 'Ald'u'd-Dawla Hasan b. Rustam b. 'Ali.*

He also was a man whose generosity and statesmanship "had transcended perfection by several parasangs." His only fault was that he was too impetuous and self-confident, which qualitics brought disaster both on him and his subjects. Yet:

كَفِي الْمَرْءَ فَضْلًا أَنْ تَعْدَ مَعَانِيْهُ

When Il-Arslán Khwárazmsháh died (A. H. 568 = A. D. 1172), and his son Tukush wrested the throne of Khwárazm from his brother Sultán Sháh Mahmúd, the latter with his mother took refuge with the Ispahbad, who came to Tam-mísha to meet them, and sent forward his governors and officers from Gílán and the districts of Ray with presents, while in the plain of Ganjína, as far as Ispíd Dáristán, for a distance of a parasang, he caused such a feast to be spread as no man ever saw before or since.

5. *The Ispahbad Husánu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Ardashir b. Husayn*¹. He reigned for 35 years over Tabaristán. — Eulogy of his virtues and talents.

After the death of the Atábek Muhammád b. Ilduguz, Sultán Tughril (II) b. Arslán, in consequence of a dispute which arose between him and his brother Qizil Arslán, wrote from 'Iráq:

إِنَّا عُلِّقْتُ أَبْوَابُ قَرْمِ أَرَادِلِ فِي بَابِكَ مَفْتُوحٌ وَ لَيْسَ بِمُرْتَجِعٍ
وَ هَمَّكَ مَفْصُورٌ عَلَيْهِ طَلَبُ الْعَلَى وَ سَبِيلُكَ (؟) مُوقَفٌ عَلَى كُلِّ مُرْتَجِعٍ

The Ispahbad, in response to this appeal, being encamped at Dih-i-Fulúl in Láriján, sent out his *amirs* and nobles to

¹ Lower, "*Hasan*", which seems to be correct.

² A. B. مرفوع.

Ray to meet the Seljúq king, and himself went forward to Lár, where, on meeting him, he alighted from his horse, brought his royal guest to Fulúl, and there enthroned and entertained him royally. Qizil Arslán, hearing of this, sent ‘Izzu’d-Dín Yahyá to Ardashír to persuade him, by reminding him of the favours which he had formerly received from his father and brother, to arrest and bind Tughril and surrender him to his antagonist, promising the Ispahbād in return for this service the rule of Ray, Sáwa, Qum, Káshán and Qazwín, and full authority over ‘Iráq and Adharbayján. The Ispahbad indignantly rejected the proposal that he should betray his guest, and after a while sent Tughril to Dámghán and Bistám, bidding his officers there supply all his needs day by day until he reached his capital.

In A. H. 579 (= A. D. 1183—4) an ambassador named Khujand (?), with two companions, came from the Maharája of India to the Ispahbad, stating that an ‘Alawí of the Imámi (Shí‘ite) sect had come to that country to endeavour to persuade men to his views, and had prevailed in argument against their doctors; whereupon the Maharája had despatched a letter to “the just and upright king in Tabaristán, who is descended from the Kisrás (House of Sásán), and who holds this doctrine” with an embassy of 40 persons, of whom 38 had perished on the way. At the command of the Ispahbad, the answer to this letter was written at great length by Sayyid Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Hasan b. al-Mahdí al-Mámtírí, who was living at this time. A long extract from this letter, written in very florid Arabic, and celebrating the praises of Tabaristán and its ruler Ardashír, here follows. Indeed it seems to have been not so much a letter as a tract, bearing the formal title *Risálatu'l-Hunúd fi yábatí da'wa dhawi 'l-Anúd* (“the Epistle to the Indians in reply to the pretensions of the obdurate”).

On one occasion Núru'd-Dín Şabbágh came to the Ispah-

bad as an ambassador from Tukush b. Il-Arslán at Dawlat-ábád near Sári, (f. 56b) and there he caused a pulpit to be erected and preached a sermon, concluding with the following verse:

دیدم محمدرا وعست بالله جز بر تو حرام نام شای

Indeed, says the author, there was never a more law-abiding king than he. His capital was at Sári, where dwelt his ministers, and where was situated their *díwán*, called the *Díwán-i-Waṣl*. Every year he used to disburse in pensions more than 100,000 gold *dínárs*, and every Friday, wherever he might be, he used to give 100 *dínárs* out of the palace treasury to the Minister of Justice (أمير العدل), who used then to go to the public square (*maydán*) and distribute the money amongst the most deserving persons whom he found waiting there. Sayyids, men of learning, poets and literary men used to flock to his court with books, poems and prayers which they desired to lay before him; and amongst the most distinguished men who were his pensioners were Sayyid ‘Izzu’d-Dín Yahyá, the judges (فَضَّلَوْنَ) of Ray, and the Shaykhul-Islám Ruknu’d-Dín عَجَانِي (?), each of whom used to receive 700 *dínárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a turban and a cloak (*jubba*), Khwája Imám Faqíh-i-Al-i-Muhammad Abu'l-Faḍl Ráwandí, Sayyid Murtadá Káshání, Afḍalu'd-Dín Máhabádí, the judges of Isfahán, the family of the poet Shafarwuh, and all the Sayyids of Qaz-wín, Abhar and the districts round Kharaqán. From Egypt, Syria and Arabia also two or three thousand ‘Alawís used to come yearly to pass the winter in Ṭabaristán, where they received free entertainment, clothes and money for their expenses. When the Ispahbad rode out, these ‘Alawís marched beside him in ranks, and whatever boon any one of them craved was granted to him, the Ispahbad saying, “In all the world these have no other door than this court,

give them therefore what they need." On one occasion he gave a sum of 29,000 *dinárs* of Amul from his treasury to enable poor 'Alawís of both sexes to marry. Every year at the season of the Pilgrimage, also, he used to disburse the following sums:

For "water-money" (أب سبيل), 4000 *dinárs*; and his standard was carried side by side with that of the Caliph, while the standards of all the other kings and rulers of the time followed behind.

For the *Amíru'l-Hajj*, or Leader of the Pilgrimage, 2000 *dinárs* and a fully caparisoned horse, in substitution for the tax which they used to levy on the pilgrims; and a herald used to proclaim. "All the pilgrims are the freed men of the King of Mázandarán."

For the Shrine (*mashhad*) of Sámarra, or *Surra man rā'a*, 500 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of 'Abdu'l-Adhim in Ray, 200 *dinárs*.

For the Graves of Quraysh, 300 *dinárs*.

For the Shrines of the sons of the Imám Hasan at Ma-dá'in, 200 *dinárs*¹.

For the Shrine of 'Alí b. Abí Tálib, 2000 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Salmán the Persian at al-Madá'in, 150 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Imám Husayn at Kerbelá, 6000 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Músá al-Báqir (*sic*), 1000 *dinárs*².

For the Amírs of Mecca, 200 *dinárs* for turbans and cloaks.

For the Shrine of the Ka'ba and the water-carriers (سُلَيْدَةٌ كَعْبَةٌ وَ سَعْدَةٌ), 1000 *dinárs*.

For the pigeons of Mecca, the produce of a village, mill and hot bath. .

¹ Inserted in B.

² Omitted in B.

(کبوتران مَدَه ده و گرمابه و آسیا وقف بود محصول میفرستاد)

For the poor of Mecca, 5 bales (رزمَه) of silk.

For al-Madīna, 3000 dinārs.

For the Shrines of the Imáms buried at al-Baqī^c, 1000 dinārs.

For the poor of al-Madīna, the value of 5 bales (رزمَه) of silk. These bales were sold in Baghdad, and the money thus obtained was spent on linen (کرباس), which was divided amongst the poor.

The most eminent of contemporary poets, Dhahíru³d-Dín Fáryábí, has many *qasidas* in praise of this Ispahbad, amongst them the following:

سپیده دم که هوا مزءه بهار دهد
 دم هوا مدد نافه تtar دهد
 دل مرا که فراموش کرد عهد وصال
 سیم باد صبا بوی زلف بار دهد
 زآب دیده هوجی فتاده ام که بجهد
 خیالرا سوی بالین من گذار دهد
 زدست نا خویی آنکس رهاندم کاتدم
 بدست من می صافی خوشگوار دهد
 حسام دولت و دین آنکه در معالم ببرد
 قرلار ملک بشمشیر بیقرلار دهد
 ستوده خسرو عالم که خاک درگه او
 سپهر سر زدرا تاج افتخار دهد
 سپهر خرفه در اندازد از طرب جو حرب
 زبان خنجر او شرح کارزار دهد
 ایا شهی که بمینت بگاه خشش وجود
 بکان و دریا سرمایه یسار دهد

حمایت تو شب تیره را اگر خواهد
 ز زخم خنجر خورشید زینهار دهد
 بخت بخت حسودت جنانکه پنداری
 زمانه روز و شبش کوک و کوکنار دهد
 سربر ملک عطا داد گردگار ترا
 بجالی خوبش بود هرچه گردگار دهد
 در آن زمان که بد اندیش روز کورت را
 قصا بمیل سنان اغبر غبار دهد
 سپاه نی عددت بیم آن بود آسرفونز
 که هفت فلعم افلاکرا حصار دهد
 عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ
 که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دهد
 ز صد دلیر بکی باشد آنکه توفیعش
 حسام قاطع و نازوی کامکلار دهد
 اگر پناه امل منهدم شود برداش
 ز حفظ خوبش ترا حصن استوار دهد
 عدون مثل تو آنگه شود که خنجر بید
 برداز معركه آثار ذو الوفار دهد
 قیشنه ناکه مرین حرخ بد معامله را
 برای دار فنا مهلت مدار دهد
 تو پابدار بمان ز آنکه جای آن داری
 که گردگار ترا عمر پابدار دهد

After the poet had been for some time at the Ispahbad's court, and had received at his hands many favours, he asked and received permission to visit the Atábek Qizil Arslán, son of the Atábek Ilduguz, who was at that time

in possession of Iráq and Adharbayján. There he composed a *qasídá* in which occurred the following verse:

شاید که بعد خدمت ده ساله در عراق
نامه عنوز خسرو مازندران دهد

(f. 58a) Some of the servants of the Ispahbad Ardashír were present when this poem was recited before Qizil Arslán, and they sent a copy of it to their master, who thereupon sent the poet 100 *dínárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a necklace, a cap and a coat.

NOBLES AND NOTABLES OF TABARISTÁN.

1. *'Abdu'lláh al-Husayn b. Sahl*, known as *Tájí Duwayr* (المعروف بتاجی دری). His yearly income was 200,000 *dínárs*. One night at Amul some of the courtiers and boon-companions of the Ispahbad came to visit him, and he bestowed on them 500 silken garments, and wrote them a cheque for 20,000 *dínárs*:

بیست هزار دینار بر املاک حک نوشت

One day his master the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán went out hunting, and was beset by a number of petitioners (متظلمان), of whom he asked, "whom do ye seek?" Being answered that they sought the Ispahbad in order to lay their needs before him, he said: "If ye seek the Ispahbad who is king and ruler, and who has wealth, servants, retinue, pomp, glory and a merry life (عيش خوش), then it is Tájí Duwayr at Amul; but if you seek that one who night and day is with his falcons, his cheetahs and his dogs, then it is I."

2. *Abú Isháq Ibráhim b. al-Marzubán* constructed, out of his own income, most of the roads and bridges of Tabaristán and Rúyán.

3. *Muhammad b. Músá b. Hafṣ*. The daily expenditure of his kitchen at Amul was 1000 *dínárs*, and at his own charges he sent 1000 pilgrims to Mecca, whom he fed so

delicately during the journey thither that in the middle of the desert they had fresh fish and cress from Ṭabaristán to eat.

4. *Abú Ṣádiq Hárún b. ‘Alí al-‘Ámuli* visited Mecca in this same fashion.

5. *‘Alí b. Hishám al-‘Ámuli* visited Mecca in this same way in the days of ‘Abdu’lláh al-Ma’mún, and every day in the desert heralds proclaimed, “Come to the banquet of the Amír!” And at his table men of note and persons of no consequence alike sat down as his guests. Al-Ma’mún ordered that no one in Baghdad should sell him fire-wood or cress, but he brought paper to burn instead of fire-wood, and in place of cress he garnished his table with green silk torn up into shreds.

6. *Sahl b. al-Marzubán* possessed Láriján. He constructed a road through country which before his time was impracticable both in summer and winter, by cutting and tunnelling the mountains, making bridges, and building rest-houses; and made this road the best and safest.

LEARNED MAN OF TABARISTÁN.

1. *Muhammad b. Ḥarír at-Ṭabári*, the celebrated author of the great History, the great Commentary, the *Dhaylu'l-Mudhayyal*¹, and other works. All men of learning agree that no nation has produced so great a scholar as him. It is said that 400 riding-camels might daily be seen waiting at the gate of his house in Baghdad, belonging to sons of the caliphs, kings, ministers and *amírs*, besides some 30 mules, each watched by an Abyssinian groom, the owners of all these having come thither to glean what they could from Ṭabári’s incomparable learning.

¹ See the *Introduction* to de Goeje’s monumental edition of Ṭabári’s *Annals*, pp. xiii—xv. It is called here in our MS. **كتاب الذيل والمذيل**.

2. *Imám-i-shahid* ("the Martyr") *Fakhru'l-Islám 'Abdu'l-Wáhid b. Isma'íl Abu'l-Mahásin*, who is called "the second Sháfi'i", and for whom the *Nidhámu'l-Mulk* built a college at Amul which still flourished in the author's time. Of him *Abu'l-Ma'álí* of Juwayn said: ابوالحسن کله محسن . He was the author of many works on Jurisprudence, the Ascetic Life, and other religious subjects, of which more than 40 volumes are in general circulation. His acuteness and discernment are illustrated by the following story, which also explains how it happened that he incurred the resentment of the Assassins (ملاحدہ، ملاعین) and perished by the daggers of their *fiddás*:

کیاست او تا بغاپنی بود که بعهد او ملاحدہ ملاعین فتوی طلبیدد و بر کاغذ نوشته که حکومند ائمہ دین در آنکه مدعی و مدعی علیه بر حق و راسخ راضی شوند گواہ بیاید و حلف دعوی مدعی و افرار مدعی علیه گواہ دهد، جنبن شهادت بشرع مسموع باشد یا نه، وابن کاغذ پاره بحرمین فرستادند، امامان حرمین محمد جوینی و محمد غزالی و ائمہ بغداد و شام جمله جواب نوشتند که جنین گواہ مسموع نیست تا پیش او آورند، در کاغذ نگرید و روی بمرد کرد^۱ گفت ای بد سخت چندین سعی ناشکور بر تو ویال باشد و بفرمود که اورا باز دارند و فضاه و ائمہ جمع آمدند، گفت این فتوی ملاحدہ نوشتند واين مدعی و مدعی علیه جهود و ترسا اند و اين گواه رسول ما صائم را میخواهند که قرآن مجید شاهدست وَمَا قَتْلُوهُ وَمَا صَلَبُوهُ وَلِكِنْ شَهَدُوهُمْ^۱، ملاحدرا باز پرسیدند افرار کرد که يك سالست تا مرا بجهان بطلب جواب اين استفتانا می دوانند، عوام آمد اورا سنگسار کردند و فخر الاسلام فتوی فرمود بسی ندرائی ایشان تا ملاحدہ بفرستادند و

^۱ Qur'án, iv, 156.

بغدر یز در مقصورة جامع آمل بدین حد که مناره است پر خم کارد آن اهلرا شهید گردانیدند و هنوز آن کارد مدرسه خانه ایشان نهاده من بنویتها دیدم،

3. *The Qádi'l-qudát Abu'l-'Abbás ar-Rúyáni.* He was Chief Judge in the time of Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and his descendants still exercise judicial functions in Tabaristán. Many anecdotes are told of him, of which the one here outlined is included amongst the stories printed at the end of Forbes' *Persian Grammar* (London, 1869, pp. ۱۸—۲۹, Story Lxxi).

RELIGIOUS LEADERS (IMÁMS) OF TABARISTÁN.

1. *Ibn Mahdí Mámtíri.* His grave at Mámtír had been visited by the author.
2. *Muhammad al-Yazdádī.* His writings are so well known as to need no mention.

3. *Ibn Fúrak*, the preacher of the *Masjid-i-sálár* at Amul. The pulpit which still stands there by the *mühráb* was erected for him. “I have heard,” says the author, “from my master Ibráhím b. Muhammad Nášíhí, that the Şáhib [Isma'íl b.] 'Abbád, prompted by fanaticism, arrested and imprisoned him in a darkened house at Ray. Abú Isháq of Isfará'in the scholastic philosopher (*mutakallim*) used at this time to go to the Şáhib and hold discussions with him every day. One day while they were thus engaged in a garden, the discussion turned on the ‘creation of actions’ (خلق الاعمال). The Şáhib stretched out his hand, picked an apple from a tree, and said, ‘Is not this my act?’ (f. 596) ‘If it be thine act,’ replied Abú Isháq, ‘restore it to the same place.’ The Şáhib, unable to reply to this, said, ‘Ask thy boon.’ ‘My boon,’ said the other, ‘is [Ibn] Fúrak.’ The Şáhib immediately ordered his release, whereupon he came to Amul.” There

he remained till the end of his life, and then the Sálár built for him the Mosque still known as the Sálár's Mosque. While in prison Ibn Fúrak composed two books on Scholastic Philosophy (علم کلام). He is buried in the quarter of 'Alí Kaláwa (عَلِيٌّ كَلَاوَةٌ) above the Dome of the Cross-roads (سر بَلَاءً گَبْنَد جَهَار رَاهِ).

4. *The Qádi'l-qudát Abu'l-Qásim al-Bayyá'i.* He was remarkable for his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Scholastic Philosophy, Poetry, Epistolary style and Philosophy. He wrote, both in prose and verse, in Arabic, Persian and the dialect of Tabaristán.

5. The Great Master *Abu'l-Faráj 'Alí b. al-Husayn b. Hindú*¹. Though his ancestors came from Qum, he himself was born and brought up in Tabaristán. His grave is at Astarábád, in a house which was his property. Of him al-Bákharzí says:

كَانَ الْفَصْلُ لِمَ يُخْلَقُ إِلَّا لَهُ،

The following are the best-known and most widely read of his works:

كتاب البلوغة، كتاب نُورَة، كتاب المذَكُور و المُؤْتَثُ، كتاب امنال المولدة، كتاب مفتاح الطَّبِّ، كتاب المساحة، كتاب كلمة الروحانية في حكم البيونانية، كتاب الوساطة بين الزنا و اللواطَة،

Besides these he has written much on Philosophy, Medicine and Philology, and his collected poems amount to 15,000 couplets, or even more, "pure as limpid water and like unto lawful magic." His Arabic treatises form five volumes in his writing.

و یکی منشور فضای آهل سلطنه جمال بازرغه عَالِيَّة جوئله کوی نهاده
که بعد شرف المعالی برای اسلاف بازرغه نوشته بود مثل آن خطه

¹ He died, according to *H. Kh.*, in A. H. 410 or 420 (A. D. 1019 or 1029).

درین عهد و سالها کسی ننوشت و یکی از کبار علماء در حق او میگوید
(بیت)

سَمَا فِي الْشِّعْرِ أَعْلَامُ كَبَارٍ فَصَارَ لُكْلَهُمْ شَرْفٌ وَ مَجْدٌ
فَأُولَئِمْ إِذَا ذُكِرَ أَبْنُ حَبْحَرٍ وَ آخِرُهُمْ أَبْوَ الْفَرْجِ أَبْنُ هِنْدُو

6. *The Imám 'Abdu'l-Qádir al-Jurjánt*, concerning whom al-Bákharzí says:

اتَّقَتْ عَلَى امَامَتِهِ الْأَلْسِنَةُ وَ تَحْمِلُتْ بِمَكَانَهُ وَ زَمَانَهُ الْأَمْكَنَةُ وَ الْأَزْمَنَةُ
وَ اتَّسَى عَلَيْهِ طَيِّبُ الْعَنَاصِرِ وَ تَنَبَّتْ بِهِ عَفْوُ الْخَانَاصِ فَهُوَ فَرِدٌ فِي
عَلَمِ الْعَزِيزِ لَا بَلْ هُوَ الْعَلَمُ الْفَرِدُ فِي الْأَيَّامِ الْمَشَاهِيرِ،

His grammatical works include the *Jumal* and its commentary, the commentary on the *I'dáh-i-'Adudí*, and the *Talkhiṣ*. Some of his poems are cited in the *Dumya* [tuṣl-Qaṣr of al-Bákharzí].

7. *Abú Sa'íd Muḍhaffar b. Ibráhím*. He was a learned jurisconsult, and was for some time attached to the Ṣahíb [*'Isma'il*] b. 'Abbád, after whose death he sought the patronage of Abú Tálib Hárún ath-Thá'ir al-'*Alawí*, who bestowed on him ample favours, and dismissed him to his home, but he was unfortunately drowned in the Caspian Sea while crossing to Ábasgún. These verses are his:

أَسْأَخْرُ بِأَجْعَانِهِ أَمْ خَمَارُ وَ مَسْكُ بِعَارِضِهِ أَمْ غِدارُ
غَرَالٌ بِخَدَّيْهِ وَرَدُّ الْحَيَاءِ وَ طَلُّ الْجَمَالِ عَلَيْهِ نَثَارُ
فَمِنْ رِيفِهِ يُتَعَاطَى الْرَّحِيقُ وَ مِنْ خَدَّهِ يُجْتَنَى الْجَلَنَارُ

Al-Bákharzí gives an account of him in the *Dumyatul-Qaṣr*, and cites these verses which occur in a *qaṣida* composed by him in praise of Qábús:

اَشِيمَ عَفْوكَ وَ الْآمَالَ تَبَسْطَهُ وَ مَوْفَقِي مِنْكَ مِثْلُ الْأَخْذِ بِالْكَظْمِ
اَذَا رَقَدْتَ فَانَّ الرُّوحَ فِي حَلْمِي وَ لِمَنْ اَفْقَتْ قَطْعُمُ الْمَوْتِ مِلْءُ فِيمِ
لَا يَأْمَنَنَّ اَخَ طَائِتْ سَلَامَتْهُ وَ الْدَّعْرُ مَغْرِبَهُ لِمَ نَامَ لَمْ يَتَمِّ

Mention is also made of his son Abu'l-Majd and his brother Abu'l-Faraj al-Mudhaffar b. Isma'il, the jurisconsult, traditionist, anchorite and man of letters.

8. 'Adī b. 'Abdu'lláh; 9. Abú Sa'd aş-Saydaláñi; 10. Abú Hanífa Muhammád b. Muhammád al-Astarábádi Bárí^c-i-Juráñi:

نَصَحْتُ أخِي وَهُوَ لَا يَعْلَمُ وَفَلَّتْ لَهُ قَوْلٌ مِنْ يَفْهَمُ
تَعْلِمُ إِذَا كَنْتَ ذَا شُرُوهٍ فَبِالْمَالِ يَحْسَنُ مَا تَعْلِمُ
وَفِي الْعِلْمِ زَيْنٌ لَذِي دَرْهَمٍ¹

11. Abú'l-'Alá al-Mihráwáni, lawyer, mathematician, poet, jurisconsult, etc.

12. Muhammád b. Farír b. Rustam as-Sarwí, jurisconsult, philosopher, traditionist, etc. He was a fervent Shí'ite, and was for a long while in attendance on the Eighth Imám, 'Alí b. Músá ar-Ridá. His most famous works are the *Kitábu'l-Mustarshid* and the *Kitábu 'Khudhú'n-na'* ("Book of 'Pluck off thy shoes'").

13. Khwája Imám 'Imád Kujaj², called *Faqíh-i-Ál-i-Muhammád*, a learned, pious and ascetic man. The Amir Ibn Darrám³ detained him for a couple of years at Hilla. The people of Baghdad and Kúfa and the Shí'ites of Arabia sought him out to profit by his learning, and subscribed yearly a sum of 1000 *dínárs* for his maintenance. Ibn Darrám³ married his daughter, and one of their descendants was living at Hilla in the time of the author (who had visited him), and enjoyed the favour of the reigning Caliph an-Násir li-díni'lláh (A. H. 575—622 = A. D. 1180—1225), by reason of his learning, virtue and nobility.

¹ The last hemistich is wanting in all the manuscripts.

² This name occurs as كَجْجَح in A, كَجْجَح in B, and كَجْجَح in C. It also occurs in Dawlatsháh, pp. 310—316 of my edition.

³ Or *Warrám*.

WRITERS AND SCRIBES OF TABARISTÁN.

1. *‘Alí b. Zayn* was noted for his originality and eloquence. Amongst his works are the *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat* and the *Baḥru'l-Fawā'id*. He was originally secretary to Mázyár (put to death A. H. 226 = A. D. 840—1), and afterwards of the Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim (d. A. H. 227 = A. D. 842).

2. *Abdu'lláh*, known as *Ibnu't-Tabarí*, came to Sámarra in great poverty in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (A. H. 232—247 = A. D. 847—861), and, when in such dire straits that he had to sell most of his clothing for food, was fortunate enough to attract the notice of the Caliph's son al-Mu‘ayyad bi'lláh, and so attained to affluence and wealth.

(f. 61a) SAINTS AND ANCHORITES.

1. *Shaykh Abú'l-‘Abbás Qassáb* (“the Butcher”), whose fame still endures, and whose tomb is still frequented.

2. *Shaykh Abú Ja‘far al-Hanáti*. In his shrine is preserved a Qur‘án said to have been written by ‘Alí’s son Muhammad called *Ibnu'l-Hanafiyya*, which has such virtue that any person daring to swear falsely on it dies miserably within the year.

3. *Shaykh-i-Záhid*. His tomb is in the quarter called ‘Alí-ábád, by the Gate of Zindána-kúy. Anyone who drinks wine in this quarter and passes by his shrine inevitably becomes an outcast from that quarter. ﴿ محله از آن محله در بیش شود.﴾

4. *Shaykh Abú Turáb*. His tomb is still visible by the Gate of the Mosque in the quarter of Darlabash (در لبشه).

5. *Shaykh Abú Na‘ím*.

6. *Qutb-i-Chálust*. Sultán Sinjar wore his mantle (*khurqa*) and visited his retreat, which still exists. Sinjar’s minister Naṣīru'd-Dín Muhammad Bú Tawba hated and persecuted

him, and was always trying to persuade his master that he was a hypocrite and impostor. One day at Bisṭám they brought the saint a melon. He laid his finger on it, saying, "We have killed Muḥammad-i-bi-Tawba ('the Unrepentant');" and it so happened that at that very moment the minister was put to death by Sinjar at Merv.

7. *Qāḍī Hishám*. His tomb is close to that of Shams-i-Al-i-Muḥammad in the quarter of 'Awámma-kúy. The following extraordinary *qaṣida*¹, written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, satirizing one of his contemporaries, is by him:

ای بعرهنه و علم دریاً لیس مارا بجز تو همتاؤ
 منم و تو که لا حیاء لنا هرلرا کرد، ابیم احیاً
 هر بک از ما شد، مشار الیه در جهان همچو ید بیضاو
 من بتصرع و تجوم و حمف وحنون سو بارابش و بمعتزاو
 گرجه هسنیم هر دو داناؤ هر دورا غالبست سوداؤ
 نیست فی الچشم فطرةً ما و هست فی الپشم جای خندبدن
 خواه امردز و خواه فرداؤ آبد و نآبد از من شیدا
 نابد از من بهی و عفلاؤ آید از من که اصرب المخraf
 همچو آتش فربن منجاو هجعه شاعران فرین منست
 لست تدری که ایش معناو فل فبئس الغریں وباک مدار
 مصحکات آبد از خواطر ما مسحکات آبد از خواطر ما
 که جه بلهره ایم و رعناؤ می دانند قدّر ما جهال
 هر دورا تن دو است و جان واحد هر دورا تن دو است و جان واحد

¹ This *qaṣida* affords an excellent specimen of Persian macaronic verse, of which the most ancient European specimen is, I believe, the *Opus Merlini Cocari poetae Macaronicorum*, first printed at Venice about 1521.

² Variants in this line are: A. B. چکرد، بوبن، جعسه، سنحاو. C.

خانهٔ خوبش دان تو خانه من چون عطارد ببرج جزو^۱
 مهرهٔ مهر مهر من شکنی چونکه تنها شوی بهر جاؤ^۲
 بر فلک نیست مهر تنهاو بز مین همچو مهر بر فلکی
 مهر بر مهر تو نهادستم مهربازی همی و سغبه کنی
 مهربازی همی و سغبه کنی گه ستانی عمامهای دراز
 گه شبیخون بری بآمل و ری از سمرفند تا بخاراو
 گه بپالیز^۳ و گه بلوراو گه سوی رود بست حمله بری
 این بتلراج و آن بیغمائو آمل و ری کلاهمای کردی
 ارمغانی فرست غبراؤ^۴ جونکه با خود مرا همی نبی
 کلّهم حسّد و اعداؤ دوستان زمانه جنبن اند
 عرکه بر خوانم الاخلاو^۵ یادم آید ز دوستان جنبن
 سمعوا فضتی چه رسولو ان آبائی الذین مصوا
 حلعوا انت لست متناؤ وتبوا عن فبورهم از سنگ
 بیننا هر شبی محاکاو زوجتی هر شبی تخاصمنی^۶
 تا کی این شعر وابن محاباو مر مرا گوید او که ای احمق
 راست گوید که ساخت گنداؤ ماند این شعر تو باسفل تو
 تا مگر یفعل المداوao لیت عامل بدی ازین دو یکی
 اما محنون و تلک حمعاءو بس فما بالنا لسايلکم^۷
 دوشه اخ بنات و ابناو^۸ جون شبانگه بسوی خیمه^۹ شوم
 همچو مشهد شکاف غوغاءو حمله آرند و سوی من تازند
 ناخن من دستهم عاجزناو هرچه در خانه منکرند مرا

۱. بتالپز. A; بپالیز. C; بپالیز و B. ۲. تنها for شبها. ۳. C.

۴. از اخلاقاو. C. ۵. از اخلاقاو. C. ۶. بسوی خیمه. B. adds: من. ۷. شوم.

۸. ناخن من. C. ۹. هرچه در خانه for جونه. A. ۱۰. نسائلکم. A. B. adds: من. C.

انا تنها و هم قد اجتمعوا لا جرم ینتظرن تنانو^۱
 مگر نصیحت کنید و پند دهید
 جمع گردید پیر و بُناؤ^۲
 تا مگر رحمتی فرود آید
 بر حوالی نه برس عل^۳ : ا^۴
 پند کس نشنوند و مغذورند
 هست دلشان چو صخر صباو^۵
 ما استجابوا لکم و لو سمعوا
 قد شقوا فی بطنون ماماو^۶
 شلم ولکه کون شمارا پاک
 ان شلمنتم فقد کرزناؤ^۷
 يا امام زمانه لو سئلت
 هل دماغك فعل که لا لاو^۸
 خاطر تیز من بدان سبب است^۹
 نیک پروردام ز مبدأو^{۱۰}
 مر مرآ هر زمان بچای لب^{۱۱}
 مامکم داد هار كالباو^{۱۲}
 هرکه بشنید این فصاحت من
 گفت ليت اللسان الیناؤ^{۱۳}
 اونجنون فتنه فصاحت من^{۱۴}
 که دباغی و کون و سیلاو^{۱۵}
 شاعر آن بود که وی من آسا بو^{۱۶}
 دادمی کبری تیز بشعرو^{۱۰}
 جعبه شاعرون جه کرده بوبین^{۱۱}
 همدا جون بداء تیلاو^{۱۲}
 هرکه می دوسته ای من این برسی^{۱۳}
 بو من آسا بشر و جیناؤ^{۱۴}
 هرکه می دشمنه آمل بهلی^{۱۵}
 داری وا واره کمی لنکاو^{۱۶}
 فی شکم ای فصول جعبه بیر^{۱۶}
 اونکه آورده می برون اشعار برد و شیولا اشیلاو^{۱۷}

۱ A. omits. ۲ C. شعوفی , and ما استجابالوا . ۳ B. C. omit. ۴ C. سلبست.

۵ اون چنون B. ۶ .النساو B. ; الشاو and لست C. مادکم .

کعدماعی C. ; که دبلغی دکون و سلاو B. ۷ او خون بیشه C. ; منتنه

کبری C. ; داوسی A. ۸ بود for بو . ۹ B. C. for بو . ۱۰ و کون و سلاو

۱۱ See above, line 10 of this poem. ۱۲ C. بدا یتلاء و . ۱۳ C. برسی

کمی وشكاؤ and ; وا for را C. بو . ۱۴ C. for بو . ۱۵ C. for را .

۱۶ B. before جعبه , for which A. B. have منکم C. ; من مشکم B. جعسه .

۱۷ آینده B.

من و تو هر دوئی سخن مونی این بنارنج و آن بخرماؤ
 هر دوی نامه وا ایدی کبرون¹ هر دو فستیمه ها بیزارو²
 چون بیهیج سویمون و المون³ ببریم رسکت و کلیناو⁴
 گتن از دست من بفرماده⁵ همه این شعرون و سو موزون⁶
 تو چه ها ساختنا و وامن وا⁷ دا مرا کس بنوبتی جاؤ⁸
 من جه ها واردم ارم مردم⁹ تو حه هارومه بمى لاو¹⁰
 حون وزى وشنر ای کلیناو¹¹ ساحر انکوم هر دوون بوزیم¹²
 من ترائی حرنا خندادو¹³ وا بشو بضحکون فی ریشی¹⁴
 هر پسته پساحک من آساو¹⁵ خر جندی که می سهون شنوی¹⁶
 وا بسای و استرایا و¹⁷ می سهون بشنون بعیشه درون¹⁸
 پارهشت جندکا بیزارو¹⁹ دی حادست نواله بنفعنی²⁰
 هار معجون شده بضرطاو²¹ بنهل تر شه سیو پیزاربن²²
 با ای حی و لام حلواو²³ کشمش اوذچنون که مش دنبو²⁴
 ما سرجل جل جلن²⁵ با کمتری و رزاء رزا و²⁶

¹. نامهرا ابری C; هر دوبی B. ². بیهیج المسون C. ³. کلناو C. ⁴. کتن ای ... بعریا B. ⁵. شیعرون بو هودون B. ⁶. تو چه ها ساجیباء و امن وا B. ⁷. توجه ها خیاد د ... وامن دا A. ⁸. لردم C; چه ملو. ⁹. B. adds another verse nearly identical with the last:

من حه وا هارومه تو دوی جا بو چه هارومه بمى تاؤ
 چاؤ C. ¹⁰. فی ریشی C. ¹¹. وشر کلناو C. ¹². بیهیج دوون بورم C. ¹³. بشنوی C. ¹⁴. هر چنده C. ¹⁵. B. omits this verse. C. ¹⁶. بفبه دوون B. ¹⁷. بینفعنی and بجاؤست B. ¹⁸. تر شد C. ¹⁹. پارهشت جند کازارو C. ²⁰. دمو C. ²¹. ادی C; یا B. ²². رزاء رزا و [و] A. B. om. ²³. با سرجل جل جلن C.

ای ورَه شیر مسْت جا بای تو^۱
اوون بزونی بزم بليل و نهار
پار و پیمار ما فعلت دوا^۲
دو نهونی سمعته کجلا^۳
انا کالمرد فی میون حدث
ای اطبا خوجی ینای مرا^۴
این مجابات شعر خواجه امام
عرکه واهما نمای وها مردم^۵
ابن باون وزنه دفیعی کت^۶

SAGES AND PHILOSOPHERS OF TABARISTÁN.

i. *Buzurjmihr*, the celebrated Prime Minister of Núshírwán “the Just”, concerning whom Firdawsí relates many anecdotes, as how he read the writing after he had become blind. On the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, and the fall of the Sásánian dynasty, he fled to Ṭabaristán. When asked, “Why did the kingdom of the House of Sásán fall when it contained such a man as thee?” he replied:

لأنهم استعنوا باصغر الرجال الى اكابر الاعمال فاللامر الى ما آتى

"Because they sought the help of small men in great matters, and so affairs came to what they did." One day they said to him "Come, let us discuss Fate and Predestination."

۱. حراو او C.؛ باءون B. دره ۲. مت C.؛ واوا ۳. باءون B. دره ۴. C. حراو او.
 ۵. ها تکست C.؛ که دو for and ۶. پیاره B.؛ سمنته Semnəh.
 ۷. نمای وها B.؛ داهها C. ۸. خوجى for جى C.؛ بکردو سناو C.
 ۹. دانپىلى اى داؤ C.؛ وا بىلە اى وا داؤ ۱۰. باءون B.؛ تاون C. ۱۱. دانپىلى اى داؤ C.؛ فى تلى A. B. تتمام او C.؛ ذونە C.

He answered, "What have I to do with such a discussion? I behold an external appearance whence I deduce the underlying reality: I see fools prosperous and wise men in want, and I know that the ordering of results is not in man's hands." A number of similar wise sayings of his are reported, including the following: "Man is troubled at the waning of his wealth, but not at the waning of his life."

2. The *Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam b. Shirwín Parím* (پیریم), who wrote the book called *Marzubán-náma*, which our author prefers to that of *Kalíla and Dimna*¹, and also a Díwán of poetry in the Ṭabarí dialect, known as the *Níki-náma*. In the same dialect Ibráhím Mu'íní says:

چنین² کنه دونای زبن کناره به نیکیه دومه که شرجاد باره
این پری بیاجه اندوهن کاره³

PHYSICIANS AND POETS OF TABARISTÁN.

1. *Abu'l-Faraj Rashíd b. 'Abdu'lláh*, the physician of Astarábád, flourished in the time of Qábús Shamsú'l-Máálí (A. H. 366—403 == A. D. 976—1012), and was peerless in his time, not only in medical science, but in eloquence and skill both in prose and verse. He is mentioned in the *Dumyatu'l-Qásr* of al-Bákharzí.

2. *Sayyid Abu'l-Fadl Isma'il b. Muhammad al-Músawí* of Jurján, the author of the well-known medical Encyclopædia entitled *Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, the *Kitáb-i-Yádigár*, the *Kitáb'u'l-Aghrád*, the *Kitáb-i-Tibb-i-'Alá'i* and the translation of Avicenna's *Qánún*.

¹ See the *Notice sur le Merzban Naméh* in Vol. ii of Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane* (Paris, 1885), pp. 194—211, and pp. 161—168 of the texts in the same volume.

² A. جتن.

³ B. omits this line, which in C. is preceded by a blank space. C. ساجه اندوهن.

[ASTRONOMERS OF TABARISTÁN.]¹

1. *Gúshyár b. Lisán al-Jíli.*
2. *Awħadu'd-Dahr ad-Dánishi*, who compiled a complete set of astronomical tables (زیج کامل).
3. *Bizist b. Firuzán*, whose name al-Ma'mún arabicized into Yahya b. Mansúr, and who compiled the *Zīj-i-Ma'múni*.²
4. *Ustád 'Alí Píruza*, the panegyrist of 'Ađudu'd Dawla Sháhinsháh Fanákhusráw. Hamadán is said to have been given to him in fief. The following verse in the Tabarí dialect is by him:

پر و جه که خورد همیون شو دارو ای وی بسیون کمترم با نیرون³

One day both he and Mutanabbí were visiting 'Ađudu'd-Dawla. He was bidden to sit down, while Mutanabbí was left standing. Mutanabbí, vexed at this, spoke scornfully of this “speechless (i. e. barbarous) poet”, but when the meaning of some of his verses was explained to him by 'Ađudu'd-Dawla, he admitted their excellence, saying, “Honour is due to the meaning, which is, as it were, the spirit of speech, not to the language [in which it is expressed], which is but as its material body.”

5. *Diwárwaz Mastamard* (دیوار وز و مسته مرن). The following account is given of the manner in which this poet obtained these titles. He came from Tabaristán to Baghdad to visit the Shahinsháh 'Ađudu'd-Dawla, and (according to the proverb⁴ (الغيبة يلتفت إلى القبيحة) sought the assistance of his compatriot 'Alí Píruza, who, however, fearful lest his

¹ As some poets are included in this section also, it would appear that no separate heading is required here, but that we should add “Astronomers” after “Physicians” in the last heading.

² B. here inserts the heading “Poets of Tabaristán”.

³ C. نیرون for دیوار وی for دارو.

⁴ Equivalent to “Birds of a feather flock together”.

eloquence and wit might make him a dangerous rival in that prince's favour, made excuses for delay, hoping that the new-comer would weary of waiting and return home. After a while, however, Díwárwaz formed some idea of the truth; and, when 'Ađudu'd-Dawla was one day drinking in a garden with some of his friends, he climbed over the wall and approached him. Some of the attendants, thinking him to be a robber or assassin, rushed upon him with blows and cuffs. 'Ađudu'd-Dawla, hearing his cries, caused him to be brought before him and questioned him, whereupon he told his story, and how 'Alí Pírúza had treated him, after which he recited a *qasida* which he had composed. 'Ađudu'd-Lawla, charmed with its grace and sweetness, expressed a doubt as to whether he was really its author, and, to prove him, bade him extemporize some verses on a singing-girl clad in blue silk who happened to be near. Thereupon he recited the following verses in the Tabarí dialect:

کو و سدرهٔ تیله بسداوا آن
 وا دبم کی دبم ای مزدمون و نامن^۱
 خیی بنھون گر دو برگیس نمان
 ای خیی خو دادسنی د راین^۲
 کو خوره سی با بن بو مدابن
 ای دریا و نیمی د نیومه آین^۳

'Ađudu'd-Dawla was delighted, and gave him gifts, and caused his name to be inscribed in the register of his poets, and he received the title of *Díwárwas*.

^۱ و [و] ; به نھون کرد B. مزدمون and om. C. دادبم and نیله
 باین بپید and بی or بی C. در آن B. کو خوره^۲ C. داوستی و بنومه B. آین.

After the death of 'Aqdu'd-Dawla he came to Amul, while Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús was still reigning over Tabaristán. One day he had been drinking with his friends, and, while returning home, passed the gate of the Shrine of Náṣir-i-Kabír, whence the clergy and custodians, seeing his state, came forth, seized him, beat him, and cast him into prison. Thence he made his escape, came to Gurgán, and described his adventures in the following Tabarí verses, which he laid before Qábús, who honoured and rewarded him, and gave him the title of *Masta-mard*:

دا گیهون ای خور خورمی ویدا
 مسست آو و مستو آتشن بیانا^۱
 دا شاه بگیهون سایه سری دلشا
 بزیه و کت اورا که خورها^۲
 آوی داد از ابني آ اتنا
 شرای واک وارسته گیهون و جا
 مردم خورم ای خور ایرو نه بومی
 زنش بمن حون کنه کیون شومی^۳
 آن پم سسکی شومست موبی مولس^۴
 بدای شمنی دل دیهراسن ای کس^۵
 ناگاه بمن اوکتن بکی دونا دون^۶
 ها کنن مرا بردون زن بزندون^۷

^۱ C منستوس ساما and خرمی; B. سست; C. ends the verse: هوشی C. سست. کنه کبون C. دکت and وا C. هوشی. بزیه دکت and وا C. سست. ناکا B. دیهراسن C. شمینی; به آیی C. om. موس. [دو] زبیدون B. زن for ازو B. بیدن C. نادون before بزندون. نربذون.

Section II (f. 64b).

The Houses of Washmír and Buwayh.

Abú Ishaq Ibráhím b. Hilál aş-Sábí's great history of the Buwayhid Dynasty entitled *Kitábu't-Táj* is praised. He and the Şáhib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád are intended in the saying "More eloquent than the two *Sáds*" (أَبْلَغُ مِنَ الْمَهَادِينَ). How

Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, the brother and viceroy of 'Ađudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusráw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh came with the Şáhib to Ṭabaristán, conquered its fortresses, and drove out its ruler Qábús, who for eighteen years after lived in exile at Níshápúr, will be described in another volume. Praise of 'Ađudu'd-Dawla, and of his noble encouragement of all branches of learning and letters, which were better represented in his time than in any other. The author states that he had heard his father say that, being curious to know the reason of this, he enquired of Khusraw Sháh, the Magian astrologer of Sháh Ghází Rustam b. 'Alí, who said that it was because his reign fell in the beginning of the cycle of Mercury. Amongst the most notable of these man of learning were Abu 'Alí Fáris, the Grammarian and lexicographer, who wrote the *Iqdáh-i-'Adudí* and the medical work entitled *Kámlu's-Şaná'at*, Abu'l-Fadl (f. 65a) b. al-'Amíd and his son Abu'l-Fath; the Şáhib himself; Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-Azíz b. Yúsuf; aş-Sábí Abú Ishaq Ibráhím; the poets Ibn Nubáta as-Sa'dí, Abu 't-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbí, Abú Bakr al-Khwárazmí, and Ustád 'Alí at-Ṭabárí. Of these it is related by the last but one that his patron was in the habit of asking his poets to extemporize verses on any object which happened to be placed before him. On one occasion this happened to be rice-pudding (برنج بشير): he invited the poets to extemporize on it, but,

before they could do so, himself described it in the following verses:

بِهَطْهَ تَعَاجِزُ عَنْ وَصْفِهَا يَا مَدْعَى الْأَوْصَافِ بِالْزُورِ
كَانَهَا وَهِيَ عَلَى جَامِهَا لَا تَمْكِنُ فِي مَاءِ كَافُورِ

For 42 years ‘Aḍudu’d-Dawla resided at Baghdad, whence he practically exercised sovereign sway over the Ḥijáz, Yáman, Egypt, Syria, the two ‘Iráqs, Ṭabaristán and all the districts of Farshwádgar. Verses addressed to ‘Aḍudu’d-Dawla by Bakhtiyár Mu‘izzu’d-Dawla:

إِنَّ حِينَ وَطَيْتَ صَبِيقَ حَنَاقَةَ يَبْغِي الْأَمَانَ وَ كَانَ يَبْغِي صَارَماً
فَلَأَرْكَبَنَ عَزِيمَةَ عَصْدِيَّةَ نَاجِيَّةَ تَدْعُ الْأَنْوَافَ رَاغِمَاً

Anecdotes of ‘Aḍudu’d-Dawla related in the *Siyaru'l-Muluk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*) of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. Ishaq, including that of the money entrusted by a poor man to a fraudulent judge. — Verses on him by the Şáhib:

فَوَاللَّهِ لَوْلَا اللَّهُ فَالِّهُ لَكَ الْوَرَى مَفَالُ النَّصَارَى فِي الْمَسِيحِ بْنِ مُرْبِبِ
وَلَوْ فَلَتْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ بَخْلَفِ الْوَرَى لَغَيْرِكَ لَمْ سَخَرْجَ وَلَمْ أَنَّمَّ

Núḥ b. Mansúr “the king of Bukhárá” (the Sámánid) sent presents to him by al-‘Utbí when the latter went on the Pilgrimage, amongst which were included 500 robes embroidered with Núḥ’s name. ‘Aḍudu’d-Dawla was incensed at this, and, turning to ‘Utbí, said:

سَنَجْعَلُ قَبْلَ عُودِكَ مِنْ وَجْهِكَ سَوَاحِلَ جِيجُونَ مَرَابِطَ لِلْجَحَافِلِ وَ
مَرَاكِزَ الْعَنَالِ وَ الْعَبَابِيلِ

*Account of the House of Washmgír b. Ziyár,
the kings of Gílán.*

The title of Ispahbads is properly applied to two different dynasties of Ṭabaristán, the House of Báwand of the author’s own time, and the Qárínwands, or House of Washm-

gír, who governed Ṭabaristán for nearly 80 years after the Tálibí Sayyids. Anyone, says the author, who wishes to appreciate the greatness and splendour of Qábús b. Washm-gír, called Abu'l-Hasan, should read what is said of him by Abú 'Mansúr ath-Tha'álíbí and al-'Utbí in their works.¹ Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí made a compilation of his sayings, which he entitled *Qard'ínu Shamsí'l-Ma'álí wa Kamálu'l-Balágha*, from which the author here cites some 33 lines, praising especially the remarkable eloquence of Qábús in the Arabic language, his courage and skill in manly exerciscs, and his knowldge of Philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. An Arabic letter which he wrote to his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Shar-wín Báwand on the occasion of a quarrel which arose between them is next cited. (This fills rather more than a page, and brings us to f. 67a, l. 18). Qábús also composed in Arabic a treatise on the Astrolabe, and submitted it to Abú Isháq .aş-Şábí, whose laudatory criticism is cited in full (ff. 67b, l. 7—68a, l. 4). Qábús also maintained a regular correspondence with the Şáhib, of which the intermediary was one of his chamberlains named 'Abdu's-Salám.— Anecdote to illustrate the virtue of Qábús. — His servant Aḥmad Sa'dí, and his minister Abu'l-'Abbás Ghánímí, who was never known to take a bribe, and who was in friendly correspondence with Abú Naṣr al-'Utbí. — Specimens of this correspondence.

Account of Kayús (f. 69a: كَيْوُس).

In the time of Qubád the son of Píruz (A. D. 488—531) the sovercignty of Ṭabaristán was in the family of Gush-nasp-sháh (غشنسپ شاه), and Kayús, "the man of the House of

¹ i.e. the *Yatimatu'l-Dah* (Damascus ed., vol. iii, pp. 288—290) and the *Ta'ríkhü'l-Yamíni* (Cairo ed., vol. i, pp. 389—412, and vol. ii, pp. 1—26).

Báwand", was sent thither by the king to help the representative of this family to expel the Turks from Khurásán, which was successfully accomplished. At that juncture appeared the false prophet Mazdak the son of Námdárán (*sic*, for Bámdádán), whose history is fully related in the Nidhámu'l-Mulk's Siyaru'l-Muluk (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*); by whose influence Qubád was ruined and deposed in favour of his younger son Nushírwán, who extirpated the heresiarch and his followers. The Khágán of the Turks, hearing of these internal disturbances in Persia, advanced with his hosts to the Oxus. Thereupon Núshírwán wrote to his brother Kayús to inform him that he was collecting Persian and Arab levies to oppose the Turks, and that Kayús must be ready to join him in Khurásán to punish the Khágán's insolence (f. 69b). Kayús at once collected his troops in Ṭabaristán, marched on Khurásán, routed the Khágán, crossed the Oxus, took much spoil from the Turks, and established his kinsman Húshang as governor of Khwárazm. Thence he proceeded to Ghaznín, appointing governors over the towns as far as Nahrawála (نهر واله), and levying tribute on Turkistán and India, after which he returned to Ṭabaristán and despatched one of his nobles to Núshírwán with the spoils of victory, and a letter in which he wrote: "Thou art several years younger than me, and knowest how without thy help or aid I have defeated the Khágán and exacted tribute from the Turks and Indians. It is not fitting that thou shouldst wear the crown while I am a mere retainer: yield up to me the throne and crown and treasures of our father, that I, according to thy wish, may create a more ample kingdom." This request was promptly refused by Núshírwán in a letter of which the text is given (f. 70a). Kayús thereupon collected his army and marched from Ṭabaristán on Madá'in (Ctesiphon), but was defeated and imprisoned by his brother, who, on his refusal to repent of his action and

promise amendment, caused him to be put to death, and detained his son Shápúr a prisoner at Madá'in until the Khákán of the Turks again invaded Khurásán and Ṭabaristán (f. 70b). Núshírwán again marched against him, and in the battle which ensued the tide of victory was turned in favour of the Persians by a mysterious troop of two or three thousand horsemen clad in green and with green standards, who only on Núshírwán's most urgent entreaty consented to disclose their identity. It then appeared that, in the reign of Qubád's father Píruz the son of Yazdigird the son of Bahrám Gúr the son of Yazdigird "the Wicked", the lands beyond the Oxus and Balkh river were by treaty committed to the care of Khushnuwáz (here اجستوار, for خشنواز) the king of the Hayátila (or Huns), afterwards called Sighániyán (f. 71a), who however, violated his pact and ravaged the country until, when Píruz marched against them, they treacherously attacked him, defeated his army, took him and many of his nobles captive, and cut off his head. Now he had left at Madá'in Súkhrá the son of Qárín the son of Súkhrá, one of the descendants of Káwa (the blacksmith who headed the revolt against Dahák in favour of Ferídún) as his viceroy. This Súkhrá, on hearing of the disaster, gathered an army and marched against Khushnuwáz, who, knowing that he could not resist him, restored the captives and spoils he had taken and apologised for his conduct, so that Súkhrá, without striking a blow, returned victorious, and received from the *múbads* the title of *Is-pahbad*. Now Píruz left three sons, Qubád, Balásh and Já-másp, of whom the first fled to Khurásán and implored the Khákán's help to recover the kingdom, which had been given to the second, with the last-named to assist and advise him. When Qubád, assisted by the Khákán, had advanced against his brothers as far as Ray, Balásh died, and Súkhrá proclaimed Qubád king, and sent him a message

asking him to send back his Turkish allies from Ray, and to hasten himself to Madá'in, which he did. So Qubád became king of Persia, and Súkhrá grew in honour and favour until envious slanderers traduced him to the king, and he, being informed of this, fled with his nine sons to Ṭabaristán (f. 71*b*). Súkhrá was treacherously slain, but his sons fled to Badakhshán, where they acquired territory and established themselves. These and their retainers it was who, hearing of Núshírwán's accession and favourable disposition towards them, had afforded him such opportune assistance against the Khágán's troops. He, in gratitude for their services, bade them choose such lands as they liked for a possession to them and their children. Thereupon the eldest of them, Zarmihr, chose Zábulistán; and the youngest, Qárin, Wandá-ummíd Kúh, Amul, Lufúr and Farím, which is called Kúh-i-Qárin ("Mount Qárin"). The latter returned with Núshírwán on his homeward march as far as Ṭabaristán, and was there installed (f. 72*a*) as Ispahbad. To the author's time the nobles of Lufúr and Astarábád, and the people called Qárinwands, represent the descendants of this Qárin; and the author promises to give at the end of his book genealogical tables shewing the descent of the Báwands, Qárinwands, Surhánwands, Láriján, Marzubán, Us-tundár, Dábuwán, Kúlá'ij, Walásán, Sa'ídúhá, Úlán-mihán, Amír Ká, and Kabúd-jáma, and the reasons of their being thus named. Thus was Ṭabaristán divided up between Qárin and the chiefs established in Tammísha in the time of Núshírwán, till he died, and was succeeded by his son Hurmazd, who reigned twelve years.

Successors of Kayús (f. 72*a*).

In the reign of Hurmuzd, Shápúr the son of Kayús died, leaving a son named Báw, who accompanied Khusraw Par-wíz in his campaign against the Greeks, and distinguished

himself in the war with Bahrám Chúbína, receiving in reward for these services Iştakhr, Adharbáján, Iráq and Tabaristán as his government. He extended his territories to the north-east so as to include Khurásán, Khwárazm and all Turkistán as far as the Desert of the Tátárs. Shírúya the parricide on his accession destroyed Báw's house at Ctesiphon (Madá'in), plundered his possessions, degraded him, and interned him at Iştakhr. But Shírúya's ill-gained power soon ceased with his early death, and he was succeeded by Queen Azarmí Dukht, of whom the Prophet said "Woe to that people over which women reign!" (وَبَلْ لِمَنْ مُلْكُتُهَا نِسْلٌ). At this epoch the Prophet was at al-Madína. The nobles of Persia (f. 72b) counselled Azarmí Dukht to summon Báw to the Court and place him in command of the army, but he declined to debase himself, as he considered, by serving a woman, and retired to worship in the Fire-temple. Then followed the disastrous reign of Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár, the last Sásánian king, when the Caliph 'Umar sent Sa'd b. Abí Waqqás (whose skill with the bow is still proverbial amongst the Arabs, in the phrase أَرْمَى مِنْ سَعْدٍ) against the Persians, till he inflicted on them and their general Rustam-i-Farrukhzád the crushing defeat of Qádisiyya, as is described in full in the *Sháhnáma* and other histories. Then Yazdigird summoned Báw from Iştakhr, restored to him his fiefs, estates and possessions, and retained him in his service, while Tabaristán, neglected by its lawful lord, fell into the hands of Gáwbára.

The Descendants of Jámásp and the Story of Gáwbára (f. 72b).

When, on the death of Balásh, Qubád, the father of Núshírwán, succeeded to the throne, Jámásp, the youngest of

the three brothers, fled to Armenia, whence, from Darband, he attacked and subdued the countries of the Khazars and Sclavs (سقلاب). In these lands he married and settled. Of the sons whom he begat, one was Narsi, the lord of Darband, who on his death left behind him a son named Fíruz, beautiful as Joseph and brave as Rustam, who enlarged his father's dominions as far as Gílán, from one of the noble families of which country he chose a wife, who bore him a son named Gílánsháh. To him in turn was born a son named Gíl, who, as the astrologers predicted (f. 73a), became a mighty king, and brought under his rule all Gílán and Daylam. He then turned his attention to Tabaristán, whither he proceeded on foot, driving before him two Gilání cows. At this time the Sásánian governor of Tabaristán was Adhar-valásh, and into his service Gíl insinuated himself. About this time the Turks, taking advantage of the difficulties which the Arabs were causing to the Persian Empire, attacked Tabaristán, and Gíl, or "Gáwbára" as he was now called, greatly distinguished himself in repelling them. After this Gíl obtained from Adhar-valásh permission to return home to see his family; but when he returned it was at the head of an army of several thousand men of Gílán and Daylam. Adhar-valásh, greatly alarmed, despatched tidings of this to Yazdigird the king of Persia, who, advised by the Múbads, ordered him to relinquish his government to this descendant of Jámásp and scion of the Royal House. Thereupon Gíl sent to Yazdigird suitable presents and offerings (f. 73b), and received in return the title of Gíl-gílán Farshwádgár-sháh. Some time afterwards Adhar-valásh was killed by a fall from his horse at polo, and all his possessions passed to Gíl: and this happened in the 35th year of the New Era which the Persians had lately inaugurated. Gíl made his capital in Gílán, but from thence to Gurgán filled the land with lofty castles and other

buildings. Fifteen years after his accession to power he died, and was buried in Gílán. He left two sons, Dábúa and Pádhúspán, of whom the former, a severe and cruel ruler, succeeded his father on the throne of Gílán, while the latter reigned over Rúyán.

Account of the reign of Báw in Ṭabaristán
(f. 73b).

When Yazdigird, routed by the armies of Islám, fled to Ray, Báw, who was with him, sought and obtained permission to go by way of Ṭabaristán to Kúsán, there to visit a Fire-temple which his grandfather Kayús has founded, promising to rejoin his sovereign in Gurgán. His absence, however, was somewhat prolonged, and he was still in these lands when he received news of Yazdigird's death at the hands of the traitor Máhú'l-i-Súrí. (Here 5 couplets of the *Sháhnáma* are cited). Báw thereupon shaved his head and retired into religious seclusion in the Fire-temple of Kúsán, while the Turks (f. 74a) ravaged all Khurásán and Ṭabaristán, and the Arabs, led by the Imám Hasan b. 'Alí, 'Abdu'lláh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭáb, Hudhayfa of Yaman, Qutham b. al-'Abbás, and Málík b. Ashtar an-Nakha'í advanced to Amul, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Málíka-dasht. The people of Ṭabaristán, driven to despair by these calamities, agreed to elect and obey one ruler in whom they should all feel confidence, and unanimously chose Báw, who was ultimately induced to accept this responsibility, on condition that they gave him absolute power, even to life and death, over them. So he expelled the invaders from the country and reigned for fifteen years, till one day Bashár, the mother of [Adhar-] valásh, struck him on the back with a brick and slew him, and herself reigned for eight years. Báw left a little son named Suhráb, whose aged mother carried him off

safely and hid him in the house of a gardener near Sári, where he remained unmolested during these eight years. At the end of this period some of the servants of Kúlá Khurzád Khusraw Ispáhí (کولا خورزاد خسرو اسپاهی) saw the lad, questioned the gardener as to his origin, and finally extracted the truth. They then carried off the lad to Kúlá, when the people gathered round him, and, joined by the men of Mount Qárin, made a sudden raid on Panjá-hazár (بنجاهزار), captured and slew Valásh, massacred as many of his partisans as they could, and crowned Suhráb king at Parím. Then they built for him a palace, hot bath and *maydán* above the village of Tálpur, which lies at the foot of the castle of Kúz, and these buildings were afterwards enlarged by the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 74b), and were still visible when the author (who had himself seen them) wrote, no one of the various rulers ('Alawí Sayyids, descendants of Gáw-bára, Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, and sons of Washmgír) who had successively held possession of this district having thought fit to destroy them, though the 'Abbásid troops wrought great devastation.

History of the House of Dábúya after the death of Báw (f. 74b).

When Dábúya died, he left a son, who, under the style and title of *Dhu'l-Manáqib Farrukhán-i-Buzurg*, subjugated Tabaristán even as far as Níshápúr (in Khurásán), reduced the people to his allegiance, and, by building and cultivation, raised the country to a condition of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and repeatedly repelled the coveteous Turkish raiders. Then the Daylamites revolted against him, and compelled him to flee to Amul, where, in a castle then called Fíruz-Khusra, but now Fíruz-ábád, distant two parasangs from that city (f. 75a), he fortified himself. The Daylamites besieged him, and hoped to starve

out him and his garrison, but he ordered his people to knead clay into the shape of loaves of bread and set these loaves on the walls in sight of the besiegers, who, thinking them to be bread, and despairing of being able to reduce so well provisioned a place, withdrew to Daylam, whereupon Farrukhán emerged from his fortress and followed them, constructing in the way which led to their country dykes, ditches and canals which rendered the road impassable to horsemen.

Invasion of Ṭabaristán by Maṣqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání (f. 75a).

It was now the Caliphate of ‘Alí b. Abí Tálib. A tribe called the Banú Nájiya reverted to Christianity. ‘Alí attacked and crushed them, and sold their women and children by auction as slaves to the Musulmáns. Maṣqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání bought them for 100,000 *dirhams* and set them free; but being unable to pay more than 30,000 *dirhams* he fled to Mu‘áwiya. ‘Alí thereupon destroyed his house at Baṣra (the first time such a thing had been done in Islám) and said of him:

قَبَّحَ اللَّهُ مَصْلَةً فَعَلَ السَّادَةُ وَفَرَّ فَارِزُ الْعَبِيدِ

Maṣqala's descendants are still settled at Kúfa. Concerning ‘Alí he said (f. 75b):

فَضَىٰ وَطَرَا فِيهَا عَلَىٰ فَاصْبَحَتْ امَارَتَهُ فِيهَا احْدَادِيْثٌ رَاكِبٌ

After ‘Alí's death he promised Mu‘áwiya that with 4000 man he could effect the conquest of Ṭabaristán, but, after waging war with Farrukhán for two years, he was killed on the road between Kajú and Kandasán, where his tomb still stands, and is ignorantly visited by the common people, who imagine its occupant to have been one of the Prophet's Companions¹.

¹ See al-Baládhuri's *Futuḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 335.

Further History of Farrukhán (f. 75b).

At this time the Mas-mughán Valásh was *marzubán* (warden of the marches) by the Tayzana Rúd (or Mayándarúd, as it is now called), and whenever the Ispahbad went on a hunting expedition in this direction, he used to stay a few days there to drink and make merry at Tanparast under Tardawíní, where the ruins of the palaces of the Ispahbads Farrukhán and Khurshíd are still visible. He presently asked and obtained in marriage the Mas-mughán's daughter, for whom he built a residence in this place, which he connected by a canal with the sea; but later he was offended with his father-in-law, beheaded him, and annexed all his domains as far as Dárán, but respected the descendants of Báw, on whom he inflicted no injury.

The Ispahbad Farrukhán and Qaṭarí the Khárijite.

Qaṭarí b. al-Fujá'at al-Máziní (f. 76a), the chief of the Khárijites or 'Seceders', one of the bravest and most eloquent of the Arabs, took refuge with the Ispahbad, in the time of the tyrant Hajjáj b. Yúsuf, together with 'Umar Fannáq¹, Şálíh Mikhráq and other Khárijite chiefs, all of whom were hospitably entertained by their host during the winter. But when they and their horses were rested and strengthened, they threatened the Ispahbad that they would seize his country unless he accepted their creed.

The author here gives a brief account of the origin of the Khárijites after the Battle of Şíffín and the arbitration of Dawmatu'l-Jandal. Their first leaders were 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Kawwá and Ma'dán al-Ayádí, who, at the head of a thousand men, first raised the Khárijite war-cry, "Arbitration belongs to God alone!" (حُكْمُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْفِتْنَةِ)، to which 'Alí replied:

¹ Some of the MSS. have فیاق for فیاق. Cf. p. 104 *infra*.

أَسْكُنْتْ قَبْحَكَ اللَّهُ يَا أَثْرَمْ فَوَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ ظَهَرَ الْحَقُّ وَ كُنْتْ فِيهِ ضَئِيلًا
شَخْصَكَ خَفِيًّا صَوْتَكَ حَتَّى إِذَا نَعَرَ الْبَاطِلَ نَجَمَتْ نَجْوَمُ الْمَاغِرِ

And on that day 'Ali's soldiers kept reciting this verse:

سَلَامٌ عَلَى مَنْ بَأْيَعَ اللَّهَ شَارِبًا وَ لَيْسَ عَلَى الْلَّزِبِ الْقَعُودِ سَلامٌ

The first person to whom the Khárijites swore allegiance as "Commander of the Faithful" (*Amíru'l-Múminin*) was 'Abdu'lláh b. Wahb ar-Rásibí, and the first who drew his sword in support of this heresy was 'Urwa b. Udayya, who, turning to Ash'ath b. Qays, said:

مَا فِي ذَهَنِ الدِّيَنِ وَ مَا هُدَا الْتَّحْكِيمُ إِلَّا شَرْطٌ أَوْنَقُ مِنْ شَرْطِ اللَّهِ

Ash'ath turned from him, and 'Urwa struck with his sword the hind-quarters of the mule he was riding. At the battle of Nahruwán, 'Urwa (f. 76b) fled from before 'Alí's sword, but later he was taken prisoner and brought before Ziyád ibnu Abí-hi, who asked him what he thought of 'Alí and 'Uthmán. He declared them both infidels, whereupon Ziyád caused his head to be struck off.

The Khárijites are known by four names, to wit:

(1) *Harúriyya*, because of Ḥarúrá, a place where they encamped. This name was given to them by 'Alí, who exclaimed, on hearing a verse read from the Qur'án (xviii, 103—104) concerning "those whose effort miscarries in the life of this world while they suppose that they do well," "By God, these are they of Ḥarúrá!"

(2) *Máridiyyya* ("disobedient", "rebels", "heretics"), in allusion to the saying of the Prophet: "They shall slip from the Faith as the arrow slips from the bow" —

يَرْقُونَ مِنَ الدِّينِ كَمَا يَرْقُ السَّمُونَ مِنَ الْغَوْسِ

and another of his sayings to 'Alí: "Verily thou shalt fight the covenant-breakers, the doers of injustice, the rebels:"

أنك تقاتل الناكثين و القاسطين و المارقين

(3) *Shurát* ("sellers" of their lives to win Paradise), alluding to Qur'án, ii, 203, and ix, 112, which verses they were accustomed to apply to themselves.

(4) *Khárijites* (*Khawárij*, "rebels", "dissidents" or "seceders"), because they came out in revolt against 'Alí.

Whenever one of their chiefs was slain, they at once swore allegiance to another, until it came to the above-mentioned Qaṭari b. al-Fujá'at al-Mázini, who was one of the bravest and most famous of them, and whose poems are preserved in the *Ghuraru'd-Durar* of Sayyid Murtadá, the *Hamásá* of Abú Tamám, and the *Kámil* of al-Mubarrad. Thus, when the Khárijites elected him their chief and swore allegiance to him, he wrote to Abú Khálid:

أَبَا خَالِدَ أَبْغِنْ فَلَسْتَ بِخَالِدٍ وَمَا جَعَلَ الْرَّحْمَنُ عُذْرًا لِفَاعِدٍ
أَنْتَرْعَمُ أَنَّ الْخَارِجِيَّ عَلَى الْهَدَى وَأَنْتَ مُفِيمٌ بَيْنَ لِصٍ وَجَاهِدٍ¹

To which Abú Khálid (whom the author curses) replied:

لَقَدْ زَادَ الْحَيْوَةَ إِلَيَّ حُبًّا بَنَانِي إِنَّهُنَّ مِنَ الْضَّعَافِ (f. 77a)
مَحَافَةً أَنْ يَرَبِّيَنَ الْفَقَرَ بَعْدِي وَأَنْ يَشْرِبَنَ رِيقًا بَعْدَ صَافِ
وَلَوْلَا ذَاكَ مَا سَوَّمْتُ مَهْرِي وَفِي الْرَّحْمَنِ لِلضَّعَفَاءِ كَافٍ¹

'Imrán al-Hiṭtán, one of the most eloquent and learned jurisconsults of the Khárijites, wrote the following verses in reply to Abú Khálid:

لَقَدْ زَادَ الْحَيْوَةَ إِلَيَّ بُعْضًا وَخُبْثًا لِلْخُرُوجِ ابْو بَلَالٍ
أَحَادِرُ أَنْ أُمُوتَ عَلَى فِرَاشِي وَأَرْجُو أَمْوَاتَ تَحْتَ نُبَرَى الْعَوَالٍ
وَمَنْ يَكُ فَهْمَةُ الْدُّنْيَا فَإِنِّي لَهَا وَاللَّهِ رَبِّ الْبَيْتِ قَالِ

This 'Imrán it was who, when at war with 'Alí, said:

¹ *Agháni*, xvi, 155.

إِنَّمَا أَدِينُ بِمَا دَانَ الْشَّرَاثُ^١ بِهِ يَوْمَ النَّحْيَةِ مِنْ قَتْلِ الْمُحَلَّيْنَا
وَبِالذِّي دَانَ يَوْمَ النَّهْرِ دِنْتُ بِهِ وَشَارَكَتُهُ مَعًا كَفَّيْ بِصِيقَيْنَا
تَلَكَ الْدِمَاءُ مَعًا يَا رَبِّ فِي عَنْفِي وَمِثْلُهَا فَاسْفِنَى آمِينَ آمِينَا

The following verses are also by him:

أَنْكَرْتُ بَعْدَكَ مَنْ قَدْ كُنْتُ أَعْرِفُهُ مَا الْنَّاسُ بَعْدَكَ بَا مُرْدَاسُ بِالنَّاسِ
أَمَا تَكُنْ ذُقْتَ كَلْسَا دَارَ أَوْلَاهَا عَلَى الْفَرْوَنِ فَذَافُوا بَهَلَةَ الْكَاسِ
قَدْ كُنْتُ أَبْكِيَكَ حَيْثَا شُمْ فَدِيَتَسْتَ تَعْسِيَ فَمَا رَدَنِي مِنْ عَرْتَى بَاسِي

Hajjáj b. Yúsuf slew many of the “blue-clad” Khárijite heretics (ازرانة) by the hands of his general Muḥallab b. Abí Šufrá, and sent Sufyán b. Abí'l-Abrahád al-Kalbí with an army drawn from Syria and the two Ḥaráqs to attack the Khárijites in Ṭabaristán, bidding them not rest till they could bring him Qaṭarí alive or dead. When Sufyán reached Ray, the Ispahbad Farrukhán, who was encamped with his army at Damawand, sent an ambassador offering his help, provided that he should be recompensed in some way for his services. Sufyán promised to give him whatever he desired, and his request was that the Arabs should not molest or interfere with his kingdom, on which understanding the pact was concluded. Qaṭarí, being informed of this, marched from Damawand to Samnán, pursued by the Ispahbad, who overtook him at the spot last named, where a battle took place between them. The two leaders, singling one another out, engaged in a duel. Qaṭarí missed his stroke, fell from his horse and broke his leg, and was decapitated by the Ispahbad. ‘Umar Fannáq, Shálih Mikhráq and the other Khárijite leaders were also slain, while others were brought captive to Mázandarán, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Qaṭarí Kaláda. The Ispahbad spared the lives of the captives and common

^١ B. has أَلْوَصِنَى (i. e. ‘Alí b. Abí Tálib) for الْشَّرَاثُ.

soldiers (لَعْنُوا), and sent the heads of the slain and a portion of the spoils to Sufyán, who forwarded them on with an account of the victory to Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf. Ḥajjáj thereupon sent a messenger to Sufyán with an ass's load of gold and an ass's load of dust, bidding him, in case Sufyán should prove to have gained the victory himself, to bestow on him the gold; but if otherwise, to cast the dust on his head at the chief cross-roads in the bázár, which disgrace Sufyán had to suffer when the true state of the case was made known.

Soon afterwards 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán died and was succeeded by his son Walíd, while Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf also fell from power, and Qutayba was made governor of Khurásán and Transoxiana, in which capacity he shewed much friendship towards the Ispahbad. Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 78a) was in the service of Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malík (who succeeded his brother Walíd in A.D. 715), and whenever Qutayba wrote despatches describing a fresh victory in Turkistán, he would write back belittling them and saying, "All the accounts of thy victories are from a place where the Commander of the Faithful cannot test their reality: why dost thou not conquer Ṭabaristán, which is a garden in the midst of the domains of Islám?" But Qutayba knew that Yazíd b. al-Muhallab was his enemy, while the Ispahbad, on the other hand, was his friend, so that he naturally refrained from attacking him.

Sulaymán, on his accession, gave the government of Khurásán to Yazíd, and ordered Qutayba to be slain. And when Yazíd sent him accounts of his victories over the heathen in Transoxiana, the Caliph used to reply. "Why does he not effect that which he blamed Qutayba for not doing?" So Yazíd, hearing this, collected an army of Arabs and men of Khurásán and Transoxiana, and came to Gurgán. When the Ispahbad heard this, he sent all his people with

their families and cattle into the mountains, leaving the plains empty of their population. Meanwhile Yazíd reached and occupied Tammísha, and continued his advance in the level country towards Sári, while the Ispahbad Farrukhán marched parallel with him in the hills. On reaching Sári, Yazíd alighted in the Ispahbad's palace, and the people were afraid, and the Ispahbad himself was inclined to flee into Daylamán and there seek help against the invaders, but his son dissuaded him from an act which would be regarded as tantamount to abdication (f. 78b), and counselled him rather to sent messengers into Gilán and Daylamán asking for re-inforcements, which finally arrived to the number of some ten thousand men. Yazíd, hearing this, sent Khidásh b. al-Mughíra b. al-Muhallab b. Abí Šufra and Abu'l-Jahm al-Kalbí with twenty thousand horsemen against the Ispahbad. When they drew near, Salmán the Daylamite came out to meet them, and was attacked by the van-guard of the Muslims under Muhammad b. Abú Surra al-Ju'fí, who defeated Salmán's troops, slew him, and pursued the fugitives into the hills, where, however, the Ispahbad's army put them to rout with a storm of stones and arrows. Then, withdrawing by another road from this position, they prepared an ambush into which the Muslims fell, so that fifteen thousand of them, including some of Yazíd's own kinsmen, perished. Continuing their advance, they plundered and burned Yazíd's camp, after which the Ispahbad despatched a courier to Gurgán, bidding the Nahapets of Súl¹ rise against Darís and the Arab soldiers who occupied their country, slay them all, and seize for themselves their cattle and possessions. This was done, and amongst the slain

¹ نهابد سولیبه. The first word seems to be a broken plural of the word occurring in Armenian as *nahapet*, "patrician"; the latter is also a foreign word, and is explained by de Slane (*Ibn Khallikán*, iv, 172) as meaning "a king of Jurján".

were fifty of Yazíd's cousins (f. 79a). Then the Ispahbad sent men to destroy the high road from Sári to Tammísha and render it impassable (دارانجن کند) to horsemen, after all of which deeds he ceased to fear Yazíd.

So Yazíd, unable to prevail by force, had recourse to strategem, and summoned before him Ḥayyán an-Nabaṭí ("the Nabathean"), a Daylamite client of Maṣqala b. Hubayra, who had been nick-named "the Nabathean" because he was dumb, and said to him: "O Abú Ya'mar! I entreated thee evilly in Khurásán, confiscated thy goods, and put thee in bonds. I have now a favour to ask of thee: think no more of the past, and meditate no treachery or guile." "O Amír," replied Ḥayyán, "since thou hast shewn me so much honour and favour, I bear no malice; and God forbid that I should neglect the claims of Islám or protect the Magian faith!" Then Yazíd told him the news from Gurgán, the strait in which he found himself, and the discouragement of his troops, begging him to devise some plan whereby the Muslims might save themselves in the present and take their revenge in the future. Ḥayyán answered: "This *gabr* (i. e. the Ispahbad) hath now waxed bold: if he should not hearken to my words, but should say, 'For two years he has ravaged my country and raided my cattle and property,' what answer shall I make?" Yazíd answered, "I will give as much as 300,000 *dirhams* in compensation, if he will accept it, and let us depart in peace."

Then Ḥayyán came to the Ispahbad and said, "Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 79b) hath sent me to say that if you will serve him in this matter, he will quit your country, but if not he will summon re-inforcements from Syria, 'Iráq, Khurásán and Turkistán and destroy you and your kingdom." So the Ispahbad was prevailed upon to accept the 300,000 *dinárs*, of which he gave 5000 to Ḥayyán, and to let Yazíd go: and he encamped in Tammísha by the moat to give

time for the captives and fugitives of his army to join him. Then Yazíd passed onwards to Gurgán, where he swore to shed enough blood to turn a mill; but after killing many of the *marzubáns* and principal men of the country, he was glad to escape from his oath by a device suggested to him by the Nahapets of Súl, who bade him mix blood with a mill-stream and eat of bread baked from the flour which it ground. Then he returned to Syria to the court of the Caliph Sulaymán.

Anecdote (f. 79b).

Ibn 'A'isha relates that this Caliph, Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, one day mounted the pulpit, having anointed his beard with perfumed unguent (غاليه) so that it utmost dripped from him, and said, "I am the youthful King who is confident in his kingdom and his youth": and ere another Friday had come he was dead¹. He was succeeded by 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz (reigned A. H. 99—101; A. D. 717—720), whose piety, justice, learning and clemency are become proverbial. He abolished the hateful practice of publicly cursing 'Alí, Fátima, Hasan and Husayn (f. 80a), which, introduced by the Umayyads, had become pretty general throughout the Muhammadan world, and substituted the reading of the verse (*Qur'án*, xvi, 92): "Verily God enjoins on you justice, well-doing, and charity towards kinsmen, and forbids you evil speech, unseemly acts and disobedience; He exhorteth you that perchance ye may be admonished."

He also restored to the descendants of Fátima the property of Fadak, of which she had been wrongfully deprived, and it remained in their possession until the time of the 'Abbásid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned A. H. 232—247: A. D. 847—

¹ Cf. *Al-Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 153.

861) ¹. Concerning this reparation [the Sharíf] ar-Rađí says :

يَابَّنْ عَبْدُ الْعَرِيزِ لَوْ بَكَتِ الْعَيْنُ فَتَّى مِنْ بَنِي أُمَّيَّةَ لِبَكِيرْنَك
غَيْرَ أَنِّي أَقُولُ [إِنَّكَ قَدْ طَبَّتَ وَلَمْ يَطِّبْ وَلَمْ يَبْرُكْ بَيْتَكَ²

"In Khwárazm," says the author, "I heard Nidhám [u³d-Dín] Sam'ání say in the pulpit: 'I saw in a dream one of the Substitutes (*Abdál*) of the Prophet seated in the chief seat of apostolic honour, and beside him 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, and somewhat lower 'Umar b. al-Khaṭáb. "How," I enquired, "hath 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz attained to such proximity?" "Because of his justice," was the answer. "But," said I, "was not 'Umar b. al-Khaṭáb more just than he?" "He," came the answer, "was just in an epoch of justice; but the other in an epoch of tyranny and injustice."'"

Yazíd had written to Sulaymán that so great were the spoils of his campaign in Ṭabaristán that the string of camels bearing them would reach continuously even to Syria. 'Umar, into whose hands this letter passed on his accession, demanded of him these boasted spoils, and, as he made excuses, declaring that he had found himself unable to effect their transport, he was cast into prison. Meanwhile the Ispahbad Farrukhán restored in great measure the prosperity of his raided domains, but died in the course of the next year or two, after a reign of seventeen years. And it was he who was the grandfather of Manṣúr al-Mahdí.

Reign of the Ispahbad Dázmihr the son of Farrukhán (f. 80a).

Dázmihr, the eldest son of Farrukhán, succeeded his father, and reigned for twelve years, during which no one

¹ This Caliph was conspicuous for his insane hatred of the House of 'Alí and their followers (the Shí'a).

² These verses, with another which stands between them, are cited in *al-Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 155.

attempted to molest him. He repaired and restored the Palace of the Ispahbads; and in his days Abú Muslim began his propaganda in favour of the House of 'Abbás at Merv. The Umayyad Marwán II, nick-named "the Ass" (*al-Himár*) was then (A. H. 127—132: A. D. 744—750) Caliph, and he was so called because the Arabs name the year which ends a century "the Year of the Ass", in allusion to the Ass of Ezra; and from the foundation of the Umayyad Caliphate until Marwán was slain exactly one hundred years had elapsed¹. Al-Jáhidh relates in the *Kitábū'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* that when Marwán was hard pressed by Abú Muslim's troops, he ordered one of his trusted servants to bury in the sand the staff and cloak of the Prophet, and to cut off the head of one of his daughters, lest she should reveal the hiding-place of these secret relics. But later this servant, being taken captive, said, "If you slay me, the inheritance of the Prophet will be lost for ever." So they spared him, and he shewed them where he had hidden these relics, which were sent to two villages in Tammísha where the councils of the propagandists were at that time held.

Abu'l-Faraj 'Alí b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindú relates in his *Kitáb-i-amthál-i-Muwallada*, on the authority of Ibn Durayd, the author of the *Kitáb-i-Humayra*, that Ka'b b. Zuhayr received this mantle from the Prophet in reward for a *qasida* which he had composed in his praise, and sold it to Mu'áwiya for 20,000 *dirhams*. It is now in the possession of the 'Abbásid Caliphs.

There was never a more wonderful story than that of Abú Muslim. To a villager of humble origin and lowly position God gave so much power that he took in hand and successfully carried out one of the greatest enterprizes ever planned. It is related that when he conquered the

¹ This statement is incorrect, even if we reckon from the death of 'Uthmán (A. H. 656) till the death of Marwán (A. H. 750).

Umayyads, and Marwán (f. 81a) took account of his deeds, he caused his secretary, ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd, who was a master in epistolary composition, to write him a long letter, full of threats and promises, ending with the words:

لَنْ نَجِمْ فَدَاكْ وَ الْأَفْلَهَلَكْ

When this long and wordy letter was read to Abú Muslim, he laid it before him, broke in pieces one of his arrows, and wrote in reply these two couplets:

مَا السِيفُ اسْطَارُ الْبَلَاغَةِ وَ انْتَخِيْ عَلَيْكَ لِيَوْتُ الْغَابِ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ
فَانْ تَفَدِمُوا نَعْلَمُ سَبِيْفًا شَحِيْذَةً بِهِوْنُ عَلَيْهَا الْعَقْبِ مِنْ كُلِّ عَاتِبٍ

Then they said to ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd the secretary, “Write to Abú Muslim again in words briefer, weightier and more concise, so that he may not answer thee in this fashion.” So ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd wrote:

يَا أَبَا نَجْرُونَ لَوْ أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِالنَّمْلَةِ صَلَاحًا مَا انْبَتَ لَهَا جَنَاحًا، وَ عَلَى
قَدْرِ الْمَصْدَعِ بِكُونِ السَّفَطَةِ

But Abú Muslim’s plans prospered, until he brought Abu’l-‘Abbás ‘Abdu’lláh as-Saffáḥ b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás from al-Madína and proclaimed him Caliph, who, on his death, was succeeded by his brother Abú Ja’far al-Mansúr ‘Abdu’lláh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás.

It is related that once ‘Abdu’llah [b.] ‘Abbás was travelling in company with ‘Alí, who always showed the greatest consideration for this family (f. 81b), and bestowed on them the governments of Baṣra, Yaman and Ṭá’if, while Qutham, the foster-brother of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alí was the governor of the two sacred cities (Mecca and al-Madína). Concerning this the Amír Abú Firás says:

اَمَا عَلَىٰ فَقَدْ ادْنَى قَرَابَتَكُمْ عِنْدَ الْوَلَايَةِ اَنْ لَمْ يَكْفُرْ النَّعْمَ
فَلْ جَاهَدْ يَا بْنَى الْعَبَاسِ نَعْمَتَهُ اَبُوكُمْ اَمْ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ لَمْ قَتَمْ

When ‘Abdu’lláh’s son was born to him in Qatífá, he asked ‘Alí to name the child with a noble name:

بَا امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَزَقَ اللَّهُ الْبَارِحةَ وَلَدًا فَسَمِّهِ مُشْرِقًا وَ كَنْهَ مَتَوَّخًا،
فَأَخَذَ مِنْهُ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلَلَّمْ قَالَ هَكَّ أَنَّهُ أَبُو الْمُلُوكِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ سَمِّهِ
عَلَيْهَا وَ كَنْهَ أَبَا الْحَسِينِ

When al-Mansúr had been enthroned as Caliph, he gave Abú Muslim permission to return to Khurásán. When he reached Hulwán, however, he was overtaken by a messenger from the Caliph bidding him return, since his advice was needed on an affair of importance which had arisen.

Abú Muslim suspected treachery, and consulted with one of his friends, saying, “How dost thou think that I stand with Abu'l-'Abbás?” The other replied, “Like the lion whose foot was pierced by a reed, so that it was unable to move; and a simple-minded, well-meaning man, seeing its weakness and hearing its moaning, took pity on it, approached it, and (f. 82a) drew forth the thorn from its foot. Thereupon the lion slew the man, in spite of his cries and protests; ‘for,’ it said, ‘thou art a meddlesome fellow, and perhaps thou may’st assist some other lion as thou hast assisted me, and it may drive me from this my hunting-ground, and make me an exile and a wanderer.’ Abú Muslim replied, “If I do not tend, nurse and care for that tender sapling which I have planted, but abandon it to its fate, passers-by will pluck it up by the roots, and my labour of many years will be rendered null and void.” So he left his treasure and baggage in the charge of his vicegerent Sindbád at Ray, and himself returned to Mansúr, where that fate overtook him which is well known, and to which he alluded in the punning epigram:

تَرَكْتُ الْرَّأْيَ بِالْمَرْى

When al-Mansúr had killed Abú Muslim, he gave the

post of *Wazír* to Abú Ayyúb al-Múriyání; and all men were filled with fear of him because of what he had done to Abú Muslim. Abú Ayyúb's intimates once remarked to him that however often he entered the Caliph's presence his countenance always shewed signs of fear. He repeated to them the parable of the hawk and the cock, when the former reproached the latter with ingratitude for fleeing, screaming and terrified, from men when they called him, notwithstanding the food he had eaten at their hands, and the benefits he had received from them.

Khurshíd was called Farshwád Marzubán, and the Nahapets were his maternal uncles and kinsmen. His paternal uncle actually ruled the country until Khurshíd reached the age of manhood. This uncle had a hand-maiden named Ramja and called Harúya (هاروة) who was skilled in all sorts of tricks and conjuring, and who used to exhibit her skill to Khurshíd whenever he came to see his uncle. To her from his childhood he was deeply attached, so that they used to send letters and messengers to one another. His uncle, who was aware of this state of things, used to say to him: "This hand-maiden I hold in trust for thee, and when thou comest to man's estate, I will bestow her on thee."

The Ispahbad Khurshíd.

When Khurshíd was grown to man's estate, his uncle summoned his sons before him and said, "My nephew is grown up, and hath sent me a message, saying, 'The kingdom is my father's, who set thee on the throne under covenant with me; therefore surrender unto me the trust.'" His sons said, "Thou art king, and the kingdom ought to pass from thee to us. We will never consent (f. 83a) to thy surrender of the kingdom to him." The father replied, "Talk not like children, neither hammer cold iron, for I

will be faithful to my covenant. Should I contravene the agreement, no blessing would it bring either to me or to you." Then said they, "Since it is so, send and bid him come hither, that thou may'st make it over to him." So he, knowing not their secret intentions, sent for Khurshíd, who, fully confiding in his uncle's integrity, came with a few followers from Tammísha, and was received by his uncle with paternal kindness. On an auspicious day a great banquet was held; but Khurshíd's cousins had conspired to kill him with a blow from a mace as soon as he should rise from the banquet and sit down to drink wine. The girl Ramja Harúya, however, was aware of their intended treachery, and informed Khurshíd of it. He thereupon summoned a foster-brother of his named Jalwánán, and bade him have two horses ready at the gate. Then, on some pretext, Khurshíd slipped out from the banquet, mounted his horse, drew his sword, and, with Jalwánán, rode away, with cries of defiance, back to Tammísha. His uncle reproached his sons bitterly for their meditated treachery, and wrote humble apologies to Khurshíd, declaring that he had no part nor lot in the conspiracy. For a year Khurshíd did not see his uncle, and was busy, assisted by the Nahapets of Sári, in preparing for battle. Finally (f. 83b) he met his cousins in battle at Qaṣr-i-Dádaqán, a place midway between Tammísha and Sári built by his father. He was victorious, slew or captured all of them, and pursued their army as far as Sári. He then came before his uncle, exonerated him from all participation in the crime, and bade him choose for himself whatever residence and companions he pleased. His surviving cousins he banished to a mountain called Farrukhán Fíruz, where they remained till the end of their lives; and he married Ramja Harúya, and possessed himself of all the treasures of his father and his uncle, of whom the latter had reigned eight years. Khurshíd's kinsmen gathered

round him, amongst them Wandarand, Fahrán and Farrukhán, the sons of Jusnas (Gushnasf) b. Sárúya b. Farrukhán the Great, who were his cousins on his mother's side. Of these he made the first *marzubán* of Amul, the second *marzubán* of the highlands (*kuhistán*), and the last he kept with himself. The command of his army he gave to Shahr-Khwástán b. Yazdán-Kard. He repaired the Palace of the Isfahbadán, enclosed 400 acres (?) of land (now called Kísa), used in the author's time by king Ardashír as a breeding-ground for Arab horses, and constructed a strong fortress called Si-dila (سیدلہ)¹, and a market where he settled skilled artisans chosen from all parts of Tabaristán. Outside the fortress he built a great caravansaray, and he gave the city five gates, to wit the Highland Gate (دروازه کوستان), the Sea Gate, and the Gílán, Gurgán and Hunting Gates (دروازه صید). He also had a channel cut from the mountain to the sea to bring water to the town: and this he called Gílána-júy (f. 84a). Further he made fish-ponds (محلاب میان), and, outside the Hunting Gate, a great *maydán* and a deep ditch, of which the traces still remain. Near this were covers well preserved and stocked with all sorts of game, such as deer, wild pigs, hares, wolves and leopards; and during his absence none dared to interfere with his preserves. He never remained for more than a month in any one place, and at each of his hunting-lodges he caused a month's provisions to be kept. In the highlands he had ninety-three wives, each of whom had her own special palace and servants and plate and furniture. For his first and favourite wife, Ramja Harrúya, he built a lofty palace on the sea-shore at the village of Yazdán-ábád, on which he spent much money, furnishing it in the most sumptuous fashion; and he used to visit her

¹ C. Shihdila , سیدلہ.

always once a month, while to her care were entrusted his most precious possessions. If by any chance he was prevented from paying her this monthly visit, he used to send her an apology, and a gift of a thousand *dindars*. She bore him a son named Hurmuz, whom he nominated as his successor. Amongst his other wives was Azarmí Dukht, the daughter of the Ispahbad Farrukhán, called *Girán Gúshwár* ("She of the Heavy Ear-rings"), and his cousin Yákand ("Jacinth" or "Hyacinth", *γάκινθος*), the daughter of Farrukhán the Lesser. The Ispahbad was particularly attached to the former, and often used to make his hunting expeditions a pretext for visiting her. Yákand was a quarrelsome and masterful woman, and, having discovered her husband's clandestine visits to Girán Gúshwár, instructed her servants and the villagers to go with spades, pick-axes and other implements, and destroy and obliterate the road to Ispahbadán, where Girán Gúshwár dwelt, and to clear and improve the road to her own palace. So at midnight the Ispahbad, who had drunk freely, mounted his horse to go to Ispahbadán, but was directed by Yákand's coadjutors to the abode of their mistress. On arriving there, he knew that a trick had been played on him, and he sent in a message, saying, "I have four hundred men with me: can't thou provide food for such a multitude?" Yákand ordered 400 cows to be sent out to them, and with each cow 400 sheep and 400 ass-loads [of provisions], and entertained them all for three days, at the end of which time she gave to each horseman a foal and a calf, and to each footman three suits of clothes and an embroidered blanket (گلیمی معلم).

The Ispahbad Khurshíd had a general named Qárin, after whom was named the village of Qárin-ábád in Panjáh-házár and Mayándarúd, wherein he stored his treasures. It is now in ruins. His body-guard comprised 4000 men, and he always wore brocade, and sat on a golden throne, and

exercised the fullest authority over the Ispahbad's people, both men and women. And when the Isfahbad had reigned a long while (f. 85a), he became filled with pride and self-assurance, and took no heed of anyone, and paid no attention to the nobles, so that the hearts of his people were alienated by his tyranny and arrogance, and they sought a pretext to rebel against him.

How the Ispahbad Khurshíd revolted against the Caliph Mansúr.

When the Caliph al-Mansúr slew Abú Muslim, and news of this came to his friend and ally Sindbád in Ray, he sent all the treasures and cattle which Abú Muslim had confided to him to the Ispahbad, as a trust, together with a present of six million *dirhams*, and at the same time cast off his allegiance to al-Mansúr, and revolted against him. The Caliph thereupon sent Jumhúr b. Marár from Baghdad to fight against him; and he came to Ray and defeated Sindbád at Jurjunbání (? Jurkhiyání). Sindbád fled to Ṭabaristán and sought protection with the Ispahbad, who sent his cousin Tús out to meet him, with provisions, presents, horses and arms. When Tús met Sindbád, he alighted from his horse and saluted him, while Sindbád answered him from his saddle, and did not alight to do him honour. Thereat Tús was angered and said, "I am one of the Ispahbad's cousins, and he sent me out to do thee honour. It was not contemplated that thou should'st treat me with disrespect." To this speech Sindbád returned a harsh answer, and Tús, remounting his horse, soon found an opportunity to smite Sindbád with his sword and cut off his head, after which he brought all his retainers and stores to the Ispahbad, who was greatly vexed, reviled Tús, and took possession of all Abú Muslim's and Sindbád's property. News of this

was sent by Jumhúr to the Caliph, who instructed his general to demand the surrender of this property from the Ispahbad. At this time 'Abdu'l-Jabbár b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán was in Khurásán. The Ispahbad sent one of his chamberlains named Fíruz with Sindbád's head to the Caliph, who received him with great honour. On learning this, the Ispahbad sent Fíruz once more to the Caliph with a gift of precious stones and rare products of Ṭabaristán. The Caliph then requested him to hand over the treasures of Abú Muslim and Sindbád, but the Ispahbad persisted in declaring that they were not in his possession, and finally broke out into open revolt against the Caliph, who thereupon sent his son al-Mahdí to Ray, bidding him seize the Ispahbad's son Hurmuz as a hostage for the father's loyalty. The Ispahbad, on receiving this demand, replied that his son was too young to bear the fatigues of the journey, and al-Mahdí wrote to his father the Caliph, advising him not to press this demand, lest the Ispahbad should break into more open revolt. So al-Mansúr sent him a royal crown and robe of honour, and the Ispahbad, being pleased therewith, consented to send to the Court of Baghdad the same tribute which Ṭabaristán had formerly paid to the Sásánian kings, to wit: a poll-tax of one *dirham* of gold for each inhabitant; 300,000 *dirhams*, each containing four *dángs* (*i. e.* $\frac{4}{6} = \frac{2}{3}$) of "white" silver; 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts; (*f.* 86a) the same amount of good coloured cotton; the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kinds called Rúyání and Lafúraj; the same amount of saffron, which is of a kind unequalled in all the world; and a certain amount of sea-fish. All this tribute was laden on forty mules, on each of which was mounted a Turkish slave or hand-maiden.

Now the sight of this tribute of Ṭabaristán did but inflame the Caliph al-Mansúr's desire to possess so rich a

povince; and he sent a verbal message to the Ispahbad bidding him help his troops in repelling the attacks of 'Abdu'l-Jabbár. He also wrote to his son al-Mahdí, who was at Ray, bidding him write to the Ispahbad that, owing to the drought and consequent scarcity of food, it was impossible for all his army to follow the same route, and that he desired the Ispahbad's permission for one division of them to pass through Tabaristán.

Account of the Caliph's treachery towards the Ispahbad.

At the command of his father the Caliph, al-Mahdí sent as ambassador to the Ispahbad a certain Persian مرسی را (مرسی) از (اعجم) with the request suggested by al-Mansúr. The Ispahbad was at Isfahbádán, and when the ambassador had conveyed to him the message with which he was charged, he shewed him all honour, and answered that his country was the property of the Commander of the Faithful, who could do whatever seemed good in his eyes. When the ambassador had left the audience-chamber, his Persian proclivities (جیت حبّت) impelled him to declare to the Ispahbad the treachery meditated by the Caliph. So he called the Ispahbad's chamberlain, and said, "I have an important communication for the Ispahbad's private ear." When this request was communicated to the Ispahbad, he said, "It is but this moment that he left me (f. 86b); what matter of importance can have arisen so soon?" "Perhaps," said the chamberlain, "he cherishes some vain hope, and desires to crave some boon of you." "Tell him," said the Ispahbad, "that the ladies of the Royal Household are with me in the Palace, and that consequently you could not convey my message." When the ambassador heard this message, he knew that Fate could not be averted, and said to him-

self, "Alas for all this pomp and circumstance and sovereignty which is to be cast to the winds! When Decline sets its face towards a house, no scheme or plan of its chiefs goes right. This man, for all his talents, can send me so flimsy an excuse! Fate and Destiny have, for the Caliph's satisfaction, let down the veil of ignorance before the face of the Ispahbad's discernment, so that he cannot see a fact which is as plain as daylight!"

وَ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ جَفْتَ تَنَايِعَ عَلَيْهِ فَلَا تَنْبَهْ نَنْبَهْ وَ لَا عُذْرَةَ عُذْرَهْ

So the ambassador came back to al-Mahdí at Ray, and conveyed to him the Ispahbad's answer, and al-Mahdí despatched Abu'l-Khuḍayb Marzúq as-Sa'dí, the client of al-Muthanná b. al-Hajjáj, by way of Zárim and Sháh-kúh, while he sent Abú 'Awn b. 'Abdu'lláh by way of Gurgán to effect a junction with him. And the Ispahbad had transferred the dwellers in the plain to the highlands, lest any collision should take place between them and the Caliph's troops: not knowing that the intention of the latter was to destroy and dispossess him.

Account of 'Amr b. 'Alá in Amul.

Abu'l-Khuḍayb chose as his guide a certain 'Amr (? 'Umar) b. 'Alá, who had, on account of a murder which he had committed in Gurgán, taken refuge with the Ispahbad, under whose protection he had lived for a long while, during which time he had obtained full knowledge of the country, and of all its roads, fords and passes. But now he had joined himself to the Caliph's troops, and was sent with 2000 horsemen to attack Amul (f. 87a). The Marzubán of this city, who held his office from the Ispahbad, came out to meet him in battle; but he was slain, and Amul was occupied by 'Umar b. 'Alá, who proclaimed a just administration to all the inhabitants, and invited them to embrace

Islám. And the people, being, as already said, disgusted w th | the Ispahbad's arrogance, came in in crowds, embraced Islám, and surrendered up their arms and possessions. Shortly after this, news of the death of 'Abdu'l-Jabbár arrived, and the invaders, being no longer anxious about Khurásán, settled down in Ṭabaristán.

* Now on the top of Darband-i-Kúla near the road to Aram there is a palace (طاق), now known as 'A'isha Kargílí Dizh, where ten years' supply of water was stored up in reservoirs, with corn, bread, and other provisions, and which could be approached only by one gate of solid stone which it required 500 men to open and 500 men to shut; and when it was shut, no one could detect its position. There the Ispahbad Khurshíd placed his wives, children, nobles, and other dependents, while he himself, with his retainers and a few loads of gold, sent out for Daylam by way of Láriján to obtain reinforcements.

The Muslim army, on learning his movements, set out in pursuit, but he reached Rúyán with the loss of only a few men and animals, and thence pushed on to Daylam, where he remained for two years and seven months, while the Muslims besieged his stronghold, until he had gathered together 50,000 men of Gíl and Daylam. But the plague attacked his stronghold, and in one day 400 persons died, and such was the stench of their bodies that the garrison were obliged to capitulate to the Muslims, who spent seven days in bringing the stores and treasures out of the Castle. Then they prepared to send the women, with all respect and honour, to the Caliph. The Muslim general desired Azarmí-Dukht and Ramja Harúya to surrender themselves to him, but they both refused. Of Khurshíd's daughters, who were as beautiful as the moon, he gave one to 'Abbás b. Muhammad al-Háshimí, who named her Amatu'r-Rahmán ("the Hand-maiden of the All-Merciful"), while another the Ca-

placed by Rúh b. Hátim b. Qaysar b. al-Muhallab, who was made governor in A. H. 144 (= A. D. 761-2), but a year later, being convicted of tyranny and injustice, he was replaced by Khálid b. Barmak, who took up his abode at a place called after him Khálida-Saráy. He also built for himself a palace at Amul, and ruled for four years, building many public buildings and developing the resources of the country, until at the end of this period he was replaced by ‘Amr b. al-‘Alá, during whose governorship the Caliph al-Mansúr died, and was succeeded by (f. 886) his son al-Mahdí. He, being informed that ‘Amr b. al-‘Alá had sought the hand of the daughter of Mihrúya in marriage, was angered against him and dismissed him. Sa‘íd b. Da‘laj succeeded him as governor, and held this position for three years. At this period a Sayyid of the House of Abú Tálib named Husayn b. ‘Alí, commonly called مَصَاحِبُ فَخْرٍ, revolted in the Hijáz, and was joined by many other Sayyids. The Caliph sent Músá b. ‘Isá and Sírrí b. ‘Abdu’lláh al-‘Abbásí, with other *Amirs* and officers, to fight him. The Battle took place at Fakhkh, and the Sayyid was slain, together with many of his companions. Some few, however, escaped, and made their way to al-Madína, where Músá b. ‘Isá was holding his court and audience, at which, to avert suspicion of disaffection, most of the chief men of al-Madína were present. Presently Músá b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abí Tálib, who had escaped from the battle, came in, clad in a coarse woollen cuirass (كَلْمَان), slashed with sword-cuts, and sandals of camel’s skin, and sat down in the lowest place. Immediately afterwards the Imám Músá b. Ja‘far al-Kádhim entered. Músá b. ‘Isá rose to meet him, and caused him to sit in an honourable place. Sírrí b. ‘Abdu’lláh al-‘Abbásí turned to Músá b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. al-Hasan and said, “What dost thou think of the stricken field of rebellion and treachery? Why dost thou not withhold thy

hand from such deeds, that thy cousins (meaning the 'Abásids) might enrich thee and treat thee with honour?" Músá replied, "Our relation towards you is like what has been said in this verse:"

بَنِي عَمَّا رُدُوا فُضُولَ دِمَائِنَا يَتَمْ لَيْلَكُمْ أَوْلَى بِلْمَنْ الْوَاتِمْ

"Good!" exclaimed Sirrí; "it is even so: naught accrues to you save abasement and humiliation. If you would only be quiet as is your cousin here, Músá b. Ja'far, notwithstanding all his learning, piety, nobility and ascetic life (f. 89a), would it not be better?" Thereupon Músá b. 'Abdu'lláh extemporised the following verses:

فَانْ الْأَلَى شَنْيَ عَلَيْهِمْ بَعِينَى أَوْلَاكَ بَنْوَ عَمَّى وَعَمَّمْ أَبِى
وَإِلَّا كَلَنْ تَمَدَّحُهُمْ بِمَدِيَحَةٍ تَصَدَّقَ وَإِنْ تَمَدَّحْ أَبَاكَ نَكَدِبِ

Now since the Caliph al-Mahdí was preoccupied with these matters, Sa'íd b. Da'laj remained two years and three months as Governor of Ṭabaristán ere he was recalled, and 'Amr b. al-'Alá was again sent to replace him. He it was who built the village of 'Amr (? 'Umar) Kaláda, situated near Wana-bun, as well as another town called 'Umar (? Amr)-ábád. In this year there was a great earthquake; and Ahmad b. Hanbal declared at Baghdad that heavier taxes should be imposed on the people of Ṭabaristán, as well as a 10% tithe on cereals, because the country had not surrendered willingly, but had been taken by force. A year later 'Amr b. al-'Alá was replaced by Yahyá b. Mikhnáq (B. مختاق), who dealt gently with the people, till he was in turn replaced by 'Abdu'l-Hamíd Madrúb, who vexed the people with new and oppressive taxes.

Rule of the sons of Súkhrá and revolt of Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then arose Wandád Hurmuzd, the son of Alandá, the

son of Qárin, the son of Súkhrá, who has been already mentioned in speaking of the *Garsháhs* (*Jarsháhs*) or kings of the Mountains; for the word *Jar* (or *Gar*) is applied to mountain-land susceptible of cultivation, and Gáw-bára had given this land to this family, who had held it for a hundred years. Now the inhabitants of Ummídhwár-Kúh came to Wandád Hurmuzd to complain of the tyranny and exactions of the Caliph's governors, promising him their support if he would rebel against them, whereby they might escape from the tyranny which was crushing them down, and he might recover the authority enjoyed by his ancestors. He answered them that he must first consult with (f. 89b) the Ispahbad Sharwín, the king of the Mountains, and seek for the support of the Mas-mughán Walásh; and that if these consented to help him, he would revolt against the Caliph. So he sent messengers to Sharwín at Shahriyár-kúh in Farím, and to the Mas-mughán at Mayándarúd, both of whom agreed to help him, and encouraged him in his enterprise. A day was then fixed on which the people of Tabaristán should make a general massacre of all the Arabs and servants of the Caliph. This was done; and so thoroughly were the Tabaristánis in accord that women who were married to followers of the Caliph dragged them out of their houses by their beards, and delivered them over to the executioners, so that in all Tabaristán not an Arab was left. When Hammál b. 'Umar ad-Duhalí and Khálid b. Barmak, whom the Caliph had sent to Ray, received news of this, they despatched tidings to Baghdad, and al-Mahdí sent Sálim of Farghána, one of his most trusted officers, whom he had nick-named "the Devil of Farghána" to enquire into and report on the matter. On learning the truth, the Caliph exclaimed, "Is there no one who will go to Tabaristán and bring me the head of Wandád Hurmuzd?" Sálim offered himself, and the Caliph despatched him with a fol-

lowing of brave and hardy soldiers. On arriving in Ṭabaristán, he encamped in the plain of Aṣram, where Wandád Hurmuzd came to meet him, accompanied by a great host. Sálím was mounted on a favourite piebald horse, well known throughout ‘Iráq-i-‘Arab. He at once rode at Wandád Hurmuzd and smote at him with his great mace, which weighed twenty maunds, splitting the shield with which he sought to parry the blow (f. 90a), but nor succeeding in inflicting on him any further injury. At dusk they ceased from battle, and Wandád Hurmuzd and his men encamped at Hurmuzdábád. Next day they fell to banqueting and drinking. Wandád Hurmuzd had a black horse, which had on its neck a curious mole, and which was of incomparable excellency. This he had saddled with a golden saddle and caparisoned with jewelled trappings, and when it was brought before him he said, “O people, know that this is our antagonist whom ye have seen, and whose pomp and power ye have witnessed. And ye are all of you the bravest men of Ṭabaristán. Which of you will take this caparisoned horse and do battle with him?” Thrice he made this appeal, and no one responded to it, until at last one of his sons, a lad named Wandá-ummid, and called Khudáwand-i-Kalálak, advanced, kissed the ground, and said, “By thy good fortune I am he who shall bring thee thine enemy’s head; and for this I desire nothing but the horse.” “When,” said Wandád Hurmuzd, “hast thou contended with warriors and taken part in such contests?” The lad, however, persisted in his resolve, in spite of the attempts to dissuade him made by his father and his maternal uncle Qúhyár, who was finally bidden to accompany his nephew, notwithstanding his weakness and old age. The bravest men were chosen to accompany them, and a cow-herd named Ardashírak Báblúraj (f. 90b), who knew all the intricacies of the thickets and forests, was sent to lead them by secret paths against

Sálim, who, being taken by surprise, was slain by Wandáummíd in single combat, at Harsa-mál, three parasangs from Amul, or, as some say, at Aşram, at the place now called Hí-Hí-Kayán. So the lad Wandáummíd came back in triumph to his father, Wandád-Hurmuzd, and was received by him with great honour and rejoicing, and ever afterwards permitted to sit beside him on his golden throne. And Sálim was esteemed by the Caliph as equivalent in value to a thousand horsemen¹.

Account of the war with Firásha.

When the news of the death of Sálim reached the Caliph, he was greatly vexed, and despatched another army of 10,000 men under an Amír named Firásha against Tabaristán, at the same time sending messages to Khálid-i-Barmakí, Ward-i-Aşfar ("Yellow Rose") and Hammád at Ray, bidding them afford him any help of which he might stand in need. So Firásha, re-inforced by further levies, advanced to Aram, meeting with no resistance, for Wandád Hurmuzd had ordered that none should oppose them or contest their advance, so that they might wax bold and careless (f. 91a). He himself retired to Kúlá, near which, at Gawázúnú, he constructed two great dykes (*dar-band*), one above and one below. Then he sent to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at Parím and Kamímnám, bidding him come and help him; but Sharwín delayed and procrastinated so that Firásha was convinced of his weakness and helplessness. Wandád Hurmuzd had prepared 400 trumpets and 400 drums, and he assembled at Gawázúnú all his kinsmen and trusted warriors, whom he drew up in two ranks, with 4000 of his people, both men and women, to each of whom

¹ i.e. he held the rank and title of Hazár-mard.

he gave an axe. He then explained to them his plan, which was that he himself should advance a little way towards the enemy with a hundred men, but that as soon as he had been seen by Firásha and his troops, he should fall back, followed by the enemy, whom he would thus lure within the two silent lines of his followers. Then, when they were all within the ambush, he would beat a drum; and at this sign all his followers were to begin to blow the 400 trumpets, beat the 400 drums, and fell trees with the 4000 axes. All this was duly carried out; and when the troops of Firásha heard this turmoil and uproar, they were filled with consternation, and were easily routed. Firásha himself was taken captive, and brought before the Ispahbad, who ordered his head to be struck off, and himself put on his cloak, cap, belt and sword; but quarter was accorded to the remaining prisoners. At this juncture the Ispahbad Sharwín arrived, and was given one third of the spoils (f. 91^b). Wandád Hurmuzd related to his son Qárin that he had dreamed that he slew a wolf; that after this another wolf came and was also slain by him; that thereafter a leopard came, and he slew it, cut off its head, and clothed himself in its skin; and that last of all a lion came and grappled with him, and wounded him with its claws, until at last with a great effort he freed himself from it. The first wolf was Taym b. Sinán; the second, Khalífa b. Mihrán; the leopard, in whom skin Wandád clothed himself, was Firásha; and the lion was Yazíd b. Marthad.

When the news of Firásha's death reached the Caliph al-Mahdí, he sent to Tabaristán Rúh b. Hátim, a tyrant of evil life, concerning whose dismissal from office Abú Jaysh al-Hilálí said:

لَحْ رُوحٌ مِنْ أَمْلِ فَاسْتَرَاحُوا^١ وَأَتَاهَا بَعْدَ الْفَسَادِ الْصَّلَاحُ

¹ MS. فَاسْتَرَاحَ.

لَمْ يَرْزُقْ سَبْيِهُ الْحَرَائِرَ حَتَّى شَاعَ فِي الْنَّاسِ وَ أَسْتَحْلِ الْسِّفَاحَ

He was succeeded by Khálid b. Barmak, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and allowed him to possess the highlands in peace. When he was dismissed and was leaving Ámul, a tradesman who was standing near at hand said, "Praise be to God that we are delivered from thy tyranny." This was reported to Khálid, who caused the tradesman to be brought before him, and reproached him and struck off his head. Thence he proceeded to Sári, where the people came out to meet him with presents; and he abode there for a time, bestowing many gifts on the people.

He was succeeded by 'Amr b. 'Alá, who fought with Wandád Hurmuzd, took from him his highland domains (f. 92a), and pressed him so hard that he was unable to dwell any longer in the cultivated lands, but was driven into the forests. So his affairs continued to grow worse, until one day one of his followers was taken captive and brought before 'Amr b. 'Alá, who ordered him to be beheaded; but the man prayed for mercy, promising in return to bring the Amír the head of Wandád Hurmuzd. The Amír asked what surety he proposed to give for the due performance of his promise. "This blanket," replied the man, "which I wear on my back." The Amír laughed and said, "If he is faithful to his promise, it will be like the bow of Hájib b. Zurára at-Tamími and Kisrá." Concerning this story, which is well known and need not be repeated here, a poet says:

وَ كُلُّ وَفَاءٍ كَانَ فِي قَوْسٍ حَاجِبٍ
وَ أَنْتَ جَمِيعَ الْغَدَرِ فِي قَوْسٍ حَاجِبٍ .

"And I," added the Amír, "will deal with him as Kisrá dealt with Hájib b. Zurára." So they kept him a prisoner as they advanced, until he said, "Do you remain here that

I may go and get news and return." So he went away, and Wandád Hurmuzd prepared an ambush for the Muslims and slew most of them. 'Amr b. 'Alá escaped with a few followers, and the Caliph al-Mahdí, angered at his defeat, sent Taym b. Sinán, who made peace with Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then the Caliph sent Yazíd b. Marthad, who fought against Wandád Hurmuzd, conquered him, slew many of his followers, and occupied the whole country; till finally, meeting him in single combat, he wounded him severly, and Wandád Hurmuzd, accompanied only by a few followers, became a fugitive in the forests.

After this the Caliph al-Mahdí sent his son Músá al-Hádí to Gurgán, and to him Wandád Hurmuzd surrendered on promise of pardon; whereupon Músá wrote to Yazíd b. Marthad bidding him give up the highlands to him. Thence, taking Wandád Hurmuzd with him, he marched back through Iráq to Baghdad. On the way thither he received news of the death of his father al-Mahdí, so he hastened on to Baghdad and was formally invested with the title of Caliph. Soon afterwards the younger brother of Wandád Hurmuzd (f. 92b) Wandásafán beheaded Bahrám b. Fíruz, who, at the Caliph's persuasion, had embraced Islám. The Caliph thereupon summoned Wandád Hurmuzd before him and ordered him to be beheaded at once; but he craved mercy, declaring that his brother's sole object in killing the Caliph's servant was to rid himself of him, since he reckoned on the Caliph avenging himself on Wandád-Hurmuzd, and hoped thereby to inherit the highlands of Tabaristán. "Therefore," he concluded, "if the Caliph desires that he should attain his object, let him kill me; but if not, let him send me to bring him or his head to the Caliph." Both 'Isá b. Máhán and Murád b. Muslim were present, and both exclaimed: "Why should the Commander of the

Faithful forbid this? This is the best plan." So the Caliph despatched Wandád Hurmuzd with a robe of honour and the necessary equipment. On reaching Ṭabaristán, he prostrated himself on the earth in thankfulness, and sent a message to Wandásafán bidding him keep in hiding and avoid him at all hazards; and he continued to pretend to pursue him till, on one night, Músá al-Hádí died, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd became Caliph, and al-Ma'mún was born.

Harúnu'r-Rashíd was an obstinate, warlike, masterful and self-willed Caliph, and he despatched Sulaymán b. Músá to Ṭabaristán, where he was governor for eight months, when he was replaced by Hádí b. Hání, a mild and just governor, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and kept the country tranquil and quiet. He was succeeded by 'Abdu'lláh b. Qaḥṭaba, and he in turn by 'Uthmán b. Nahík, who built the Great Mosque of Amul. Next came Sa'íd b. Salma b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Hammál and 'Abdu'lláh, the sons of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 179 (= A. D. 795-6) these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Hajjáj (f. 93a), who remained one year, and repaired the walls of Amul and Sári, which were afterwards destroyed by Máz-yár. And after him came 'Abdu'lláh b. Házim.

The Rebellion of the people of Rustamdár.

The deputy of this last governor, who was named Salám and nicknamed *Siyáh Mard* ("the Black Man"), was expelled from his province, and entered into a league with the Daylamites. There was at Kalár a very beautiful woman, whom they seized, in order to create trouble; but she cast herself into a stream and drowned herself. The deputy-governor of 'Abdu'lláh was at Kajú, and, on hearing of this, he at once hastened to Jálús, when there was a judge named

Şudám who was accused of being the cause of the mischief, and who fled into hiding. The deputy-governor caused proclamation to be made throughout the country that whoever should find this judge and give him quarter would be no longer accounted a Muslim, but would be reckoned an outlaw. At length the judge was captured by the people and bound to a tree for three days and nights; and Salám ordered that all the people of that district should come in, so that he might fulfil their desires and grant their wishes. So they came in, hopeful and jubilant; but he shut them all up in houses, and set sentries over them. It was then the month of Ramadán, and in the evening, before he had performed the evening prayer, he mounted his horse, broke his fast in the saddle with some bread and a few bunches of grapes plucked from a neighbouring garden, and had his prisoners brought out one by one from their confinement and decapitated. This work of slaughter went on all night by candle-light, and when morning dawned not one of the prisoners was left alive. Then he said, "I am like this candle; as it burns itself to give light to you, so have I cast myself into torment to make the country safe for you." Thence he went to Sa'íd-ábád, drove the people out of their fortifications by assault, slew then all, and destroyed the village, till at length Hárúnú'r-Rashíd dismissed him from his government, and appointed Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Khálid al-Barmakí and his brother Músá to succeed him, while their brothers Faḍl b. Yaḥyá and Ja'far were the Caliph's ministers at Baghdad (f. 936). The two former ruled oppressively over Ṭabaristán, confiscating every estate and seizing every beautiful woman just as they pleased; and none dared make complaint against them to the Caliph for fear of the influence wielded by their brothers at the court. At length Hárún's anger was aroused against Ja'far, and he ordered the family of the Barmecides to be

destroyed. Concerning the cause of his anger, two separate traditions are recorded in history.

Cause of the Extirpation of the Barmecides.

When Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, wishing to be able to enjoy the society of his sister 'Abbása and Ja'far the Barmecide at the same time, married them to one another on the condition that this marriage was to be a marriage in name only, 'Abbása was unable to control her love for Ja'far, and wrote to him:

عَزَّمْتَ عَلَيْيِ قَلْبِي بِأَنْ تَقْتَلَنِي فَصَمَّحَ وَنَادَيَ الَّذِي غَبَرُ فَاعْدِلْ
فَرَرْنِي وَإِلَّا بُحْتُ بِالْحُبُّ عَنْهُ وَلَمْ يَعْتَنِنِي فِي هَوَاهُ عَوَانِلِي
وَلَمْ يَخَانْ مَوْتِي لَمْ أَدْعُكَ بِغُصَّتِي وَأَفْرَرْتُ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ أَنَّكَ فَانِلِي

So Ja'far, fearing to offend 'Abbása, gave her the love she sought, and the result of this union was a child whom they called Ḥaml 'A'isha. It is related on the authority of Nawfalí that in A. H. 180 (= A. H. 796—7) Hárúnu'r-Rashíd went on the pilgrimage, and received tidings of this event on the journey, but made no sign of pleasure or displeasure, until he returned and reached Buḥayra, where he embarked in a skiff with Ja'far to go fishing. On his return from this expedition he proceeded to Ambár, where he said to Ja'far, "Today I shall be with my *ḥaram*, and I give you permission to go to your family and amuse yourself as you will." All day Hárún kept sending him presents, until, when the time of evening prayer was at hand, the blind minstrel Abú Rakáz sang these verses:

فَلَا تَبْعَدْ فَدْلُ فَنَى سَيَّابِي عَلَيْهِ الْمَوْتُ بَطْرُفُ أَوْ بُعَادِي
وَكُلْ ذَخِيرَةً لَا بُدَّ يَوْمًا وَلَمْ يَغْيِتْ تَصْبِيرُ إِلَى نِفَادِ
فَلَوْ فُوِيدَتْ مِنْ حَدَثِ الْمَنَابِيَّ فَدَبْشُكَ بِالْتَّلِيدِ¹ وَبِالْتَّلَادِ

¹ بالطريف. C.

Ja'far said to Abú Rakáz, "What song is this to sing before men?" He replied, "O my master, however much I strive, I can think of no other verses." While they were thus conversing, suddenly Masrúr the executioner entered without seeking permission, for the Caliph had sent him to cut off Ja'far's head and bring it to him. When Ja'far saw him, he sprang to his feet and cried, "O Abú Háshim, I rejoice that thou art come to me, but am sorry that thou didst enter without seeking permission." "I am come," said Masrúr, "on a weighty errand: submit thyself to the command of the Prince of Believers." Ja'far fell at his feet, saying, "Suffer me to go into the house and perform my ablutions." "It is out of the question," replied Masrúr, "that you should go to the house, but make such testamentary dispositions as you please." So Ja'far set free his slaves and made his will and performed his ablutions, and then Masrúr mounted him on a horse and brought him to the prison. Ja'far then conjured him to go and tell the Caliph that he had brought him thither, that perhaps he might repent. To this Masrúr consented, but no sooner did Hárún-r-Rashíd hear his advancing footsteps than he called out to him, "Stop there! For if thou comest hither without the head of Ja'far, thine own head shall be forfeit!" So Masrúr turned back and cut off Ja'far's head, and brought it on a shield to the Caliph, who at once ordered Yahyá b. Khálid and Faḍl to be cast into prison, and the body of Ja'far to be hanged on the bridge at Anbár. But afterwards Hárún was sorry for what he had done, and wandered through the palace reciting these verses:

يَا مَنْ تَبَشَّرَتِ الْفُبُورُ بِمَوْتِهِ فَعَدَ الْرَّمَانُ بِسَهْمِهِ فَمَا كَانَ
حَلَّ الْبَكَاءُ فَطَالَ بَعْدَكَ حَزَنَةً لَوْ سَتَّطَبِعُ بِمُلْكِهِ لَقَدَ أَكَانَ
أَبْغَى الْأَبْيَسَ فَلَا أَرَى لِي مُونِسًا إِلَّا الْمُرْدَدَ حَيْثُ كُنْتُ أَرَاكَانَ

The other account, given by al-Asma'i in his *Kitābu 'n-Nawādir*, on the authority of Abū 'Abdīllāh (f. 94b) al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Hishám, is as follows. "When al-Ma'mún succeeded to the Caliphate," says the narrator, "I enquired of Faḍl b. Rabi', who was Hárúnu'r-Rashíd's chief chamberlain, 'Was this matter of 'Abbásá the only cause of the slaughter of the Barmecides, or had they committed any other fault?' Faḍl b. Rabi' smiled and said: علی الْخَبِيرِ بِهَا سَعَطْتُ: ('Thou hast fallen on him who is best acquainted with it'). This Faḍl was unequalled in understanding, and from him Hárúnu'r-Rashíd had no secrets. It is related that when al-Ma'mún obtained possession of Baghdad, Faḍl was brought before him as a prisoner, with his hands bound behind him. Al-Ma'mún looked at him to see whether he would say anything, or apologize, or crave forgiveness; but he did not raise his eyes from the ground and maintained complete silence. "Was it in such wise," at length exclaimed al-Ma'mún, "that thou didst order the affairs of two Caliphs?" "O Prince of Believers," replied Faḍl, "my tongue spoke to grant requests, not to crave them." So al-Ma'mún, being pleased with his answer, forgave him, and ordered him to be escorted to his house with candles and lanterns. But he said, "O Prince of Believers, suffer me rather to go lighted by the light of thine approval!" Later, when he was sick, al-Ma'mún sent a messenger to enquire after his health, and to say, "I am well pleased with thee, therefore ask me what thou wilt." He replied, "I stand more in need of God's good pleasure than of thine, and more in need of health than of thy abundant possessions."

Now according to this Faḍl, the cause of Hárún's anger against the Barmecides was that he had entrusted to Ja'far a son of Yaḥyá b. Zayd to keep him in safe custody. One day while drinking wine he said to Ja'far, "Go, and bring the lad hither." "Why dost thou want him at such a time?"

enquired Ja'far. Then Hárún cried out at him in anger, and he arose and brought in the Sayyid. Hárún caused him to be seated, and then said to him, "O cousin, knowest thou wherefore I have sent for thee?" "The Prince of Believers knoweth best," replied the other. "You pretend," said Hárúnú'r-Rashíd, "that you are more worthy than we of this office, being more closely (f. 95a) and particularly related to the Prophet. Now you must have some proof for this pretension, and this you must make known to me." "God forbid!" replied the son of Yaḥyá: "we have never said and will never say such a thing as this!" "Thou liest!" answered Hárún: "you have advanced such claims, and tonight you must needs substantiate them." So the Sayyid continued to deny and the Caliph, with drunken insistence, to assert, until the latter had finally work himself up into a rage. Then Ja'far intervened and said to the son of Yaḥyá, "The Prince of Believers is holding a scientific discussion with you, and questions you with such courtesy and kindness; why then do you decline to discuss the matter, or to answer him?" "If I should answer," replied the Sayyid, "who will guarantee my safety?" Then the Caliph wrote him an assurance of safety in his own hand, swearing that he would neither slay, not hang, not poison him; and placed this document in his hands. "Now," said the Sayyid, "what dost thou ask of me?" "The proof," said Hárúnú'r-Rashíd, "that you are worthier than we are." "We are more worthy," replied the Sayyid, "as being nearer of kin." "Nay," said the Caliph, "we are in this respect equal." "Not so," answered the Sayyid. "By what proof?" demanded the Caliph. "If Muḥammad the Apostle of God were alive," said the Sayyid, "and should seek alliance with thee through a sister or a daughter, would'st thou consent or not?" "Yes," answered Hárún, "why should I not accept so worthy an alliance?" "I would not," re-

joined the Sayyid, "and it would be improper for me to do so." Hárún was silent for a while, and then made a sign to Ja'far to remove the Sayyid, which he did. Some while afterwards the Caliph summoned Ja'far and said, "I am going to entrust you with a commission in which you must by no means fail me." "It is for the Prince of Believers to command," replied Ja'far. "Place thy hand on my head," said the Caliph, "and swear to accomplish my behest." When Ja'far had done this, Hárún said, "I gave the son of Yaḥyá an assurance of safety against steel and poison and strangling, but not against burial. You must therefore dig a deep pit, exceeding fifty yards in depth, and must cast him into that pit alive." So Ja'far went, dismissed the guardians [of the Sayyid] and caused a deep pit to be dug (f. 95b), into which he cast not the Sayyid but a sheep. Then he explained to the Sayyid the state of the case, and bade him flee beyond the Caliph's realms. So he fled in disguise to Khurásán, but was recognized in the market of Balkh by a certain officer of the postal service named al-Mas'údí, who performed the journey thence to Baghdad in thirty days, and informed the Caliph of what he had seen. So the Caliph wrote to 'Alí b. 'Isá, who was governor of Balkh, bidding him seek out the Sayyid, who, however, had meanwhile made his escape into Turkistán. Then the Caliph sent an ambassador to the Khágán of Turkistán, bidding him surrender up the Sayyid. The Khágán answered, "We know not this man: send some one who can recognize him, and we will hand him over to you." So Hárún sent another messenger who knew the Sayyid, and all the Sayyids who were in that country were assembled in his presence; and when his eye lighted on the son of Yaḥyá, he said, "This is the man." But when he brought him to the Khágán, the latter bade the Sayyid sit down beside him, and said to the messenger, "I also was seeking

for him, my object being to protect him from all the world. Arise, and depart in peace." So the ambassador returned in despair, and told the Caliph what had passed. Then the Caliph determined to avenge himself on Ja'far. Now it was his custom to visit his sister 'Abbásá every Tuesday, and on these occasions he would neither see anyone nor receive any letter or petition. "One Tuesday," says the narrator, "when I was alone with him, he bade me be seated, and said, 'I am going to tell you a secret which you must on no account divulge.' On my promising secrecy, he continued, 'I am going to destroy Ja'far.' At this juncture Ja'far himself entered. I arose and went to meet him. The Caliph caused him to sit down beside him, till, when they had discussed various topics, he arose (f. 96a) and went to the house of 'Abbásá, while I remained with Ja'far. 'What were you and the Caliph talking about when I came in?' said he. 'He was instructing me,' I replied, 'how to deal with a certain rebel in Khurásán. 'O Faḍl,' he answered, 'by God, thou liest; you were talking about me, and no good either, for when thine eyes fell on me the colour left thy face.' 'God forbid!' said I, 'how should the Caliph speak to me of thee, seeing the position that thou holdest before him?' But Ja'far persisted in his surmise, and I was afraid lest the Caliph should think I had given him a hint of what had been confided to me. When he went to his house, I arose and went to the house of 'Abbásá, where I demanded an audience. I was bidden to put in writing what I had to say, but, having declared that it could only be imparted by word of moath, was at length admitted and brought before the Caliph. I bowed my head to the ground and said, 'O Prince of Believers, mercy, mercy! Thou hast cast me into destruction!' 'Why, what ails thee?' he enquired: 'tell me quickly.' Then I told him what had passed, and he said, 'Have no anxiety on

this score, for I have long known Ja'far's acumen and discernment. Yesterday I was with him in the garden, and there was no one with us; and I was looking at the roses, when I saw one which pleased me more than all the others. At once Ja'far stretched out his hand and gave it to me. Then he fell on his face before me, and when he raised his head from the ground I was smiling. "Wherefore," he enquired, "does the Prince of Believers smile?" I answered, "At your being able to tell which rose out of all these pleased me most." "By God," he replied, "that was not the reason, for you have often before proved my discernment. It was rather because, when I prostrated myself before you, your glance fall on my neck." "And by God," added the Caliph, he spoke truly; for, as I looked at his neck, I said to myself, "How shall I order it to be cut with the sword?" and as I thought thus, I smiled.' Three days later the affair of the Barmecides was finished."

After this Jahdám b. Khabáb was sent (f. 96b) as governor to Tabaristán, and after him Khalífa b. Sa'íd b. Hárún al-Jawharí, who, on reaching Amul, appointed as his deputy Mihrúya of Ray, who took up his abode at Gurgán.

A c c o u n t o f t h e K i n g o f t h e M o u n t a i n s
t h e I s p a h b a d S h a r w í n B á w a n d
a n d W a n d á d H u r m u z d .

These were in alliance with one another, so that from Tammísha to Rúyán without their permission no one dared enter the highlands from the plains, and all the highlands were under their control. And when a Muslim died, they wold not suffer him to be buried in their country. So matters continued until Khalífa b. Sa'íd came to Sári, and wished to make his cousin Náfi' his deputy; and the Ispahbad Sharwín's men came down by night out of the hills and slew him. Khalífa remained at Sári and wrote to Mih-

rúya at Amul bidding him be on his guard, as the people of Ṭabaristán were ripe for revolt. This letter Mihrúya read in public to the people, adding reproaches to the soldiers, who attacked his palace that night, slew him, cut off his head, and cast his mutilated corpse, with circumstances of atrocious dishonour, into the cross-roads of the market-place as a warning to all. So news was brought to the Caliph that the people of Ṭabaristán had revolted, but had not robbed the treasury; and he said, "It is not a revolt against us; this was an unjust governor, and it is quite right to suppress injustice." Then he sent 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'íd al-Jaríshí, and all the people went out to meet him, and brought him in with honour. He governed the country for four months, and succeeded in arresting four persons who were chiefly responsible for Mihrúya's death and the disturbance which accompanied it, and sent them to the Caliph, who inflicted punishment upon them.

In A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803) Ja'far b. Hárún (f. 97a) was sent to reorganize the land-tax and to survey the country in the territory occupied by Wandásafán, who slew him with a blow from his mace while he was thus employed. Forty men who were with him fled to 'Abdu'lláh and informed him of what had happened, and he communicated the matter to the Caliph. Immediately after this it was rumoured that the Caliph had advanced into 'Iráq; and three days later 'Abdu'lláh went to Sári, whence he proceeded to Ray, where the Caliph was. The Caliph thereupon despatched the Qádí Abu'l-Buhturí, 'Abbás b. Zafr, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, and Ṣáliḥ b. Shaykh 'Umayra, with 300 horsemen and servants, to the Isfahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd to ascertain whether or no their loyalty could be relied on. They received this embassy with every mark of respect and friendship, and the ambassadors on their returned reported that what Wandásafán had done, he had done enti-

rely on his own responsibility, without their knowledge or approval; and that he was, in fact, the enemy and opponent of Wandád Hurmuzd. Thereupon the Caliph left Ray, and encamped one day's march therefrom, at the village of Arbanú, whence he wrote to the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd, bidding them come to him. They answered that they were his obedient and loyal vassals, but that before coming they must have hostages for his good faith. The Caliph was angered at this and said, "How shall I sent Muslim hostages to *Gabrs*?" So he sent the Qádí Abu'l-Buhturí and Harthama b. A'yan and Abu'l-Waddáh the post-master to them, bidding them either come before the Caliph or prepare for war. These advanced to Wíma, whence they sent messages to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at the Castle of Kúzá, and Wandád Hurmuzd, who was at Lafúr, bidding them come to them. Wandád Hurmuzd came, but the Ispahbad Sharwín sent excuses, saying that he was too ill to come. When the bearer of this message arrived, Wandád Hurmuzd said to the Caliph's ambassadors, "Whatever order you may issue in respect to the Ispahbad Sharwín, I am ready to obey it (f. 97b). Harthama b. A'yan agreed with Na'ím b. Házim that they should smite Wandád Hurmuzd unawares while they were marching together, and slay him, since the Caliph would certainly be pleased at his death. But Wandád Hurmuzd, seeing Na'ím edging towards him, divined his intention, reined in his horse, and said, "You must hold to your agreement." His companions apologized, and made Na'ím swear that Wandád Hurmuzd should be conducted in safety before the Caliph. He remained with the Caliph for some time, till Hárúnú'r-Rashíd desired to buy some lands from him, which he refused to sell. They explained that his nobility of nature made him unwilling to sell lands which he might be willing to give as a present, so Hárún sent his little son al-Ma'mún to

him; and when they had seated the child on his knee, Wandád Hurmuzd gave him all those lands which he had previously refused to sell; and Hárún presented him with a million *dirhams*, and a jewelled cup of priceless value, and a ring, with which last Wandád Hurmuzd was especially delighted. Then the Caliph bade him crave a boon, and he asked for the dismissal of 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'íd, and Hárún dismissed him with a robe of honour, and sent Harthama with him to bring back his son Qárin and the Ispahbad Sharwín's son Shahriyár as hostages. The former was entrusted to Harthama, but the Ispahbad Sharwín refused to give up his son Shahriyár, and sent another instead of him. But Harthama insisted that Shahriyár should be given up, and this decision was endorsed by the Caliph, so that the Ispahbad was compelled to surrender Shahriyár, whom Hárúnu'r-Rashíd took back with him to Baghdad.

Then the Caliph sent 'Abdu'lláh b. Málík as governor to Ṭabaristán, and ordered that all the country except the highlands should be taken from the control of the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 98a) and Wandád Hurmuzd. A year later the Caliph again visited Ray on his way to Khurásán. There he fell sick, and sent Shahriyár and Qárin to their respective fathers, while he marched on to Tús, and there died and was buried.

On this war arose between Hárún's two sons Muḥammad b. Zubayda, called *al-Makhlu'* ("the Deposed") and 'Abdu'lláh al-Ma'mún; and Ṭáhir b. al-Husayn, al-Ma'mún's general, marched on Baghdad, took it, and slew the rival Caliph, and sent his head to his brother al-Ma'mún, who looked on it and said:

شعيت النفس من جل بن بدر،

So 'Abdu'lláh al-Ma'mún became Caliph, and he was the greatest and most illustrious of all the 'Abbásid Caliphs, and openly shewed his attachment to the Shi'ite cause. It is related

that Sindí b. Sháhak, whose tomb is at Sári in the place now called Bá Naṣrí Mashhad, and other Shi'ite leaders and partisans of the Imám Ridá reproached al-Ma'mún for his conduct towards the Imám. Al-Ma'mún said, "I learned the Shi'ite faith from my father Hárúnu'r Rashíd." They replied, "He used to kill the members of this house." "Yes," replied al-Ma'mún, "he killed them for political reasons, 'for the state is a barren mother'" (لَانَّ الْمُلْكَ عَفِيمٌ). And in like manner did al-Ma'mún himself act in compassing the death of the Imám 'Alí Ridá for state reasons, preferring the transitory glory of this world to everlasting blessedness and felicity (f. 98b). And through the deed he did was done 400 years ago, men still reproach it in these verses:

بَاعُوا يَقْتَلُ الْرِّضَا مِنْ بَعْدِ يَبْعَثَتْهُ وَأَبْصَرُوا بَعْضَ نَبِيِّ رُشْدِهِمْ وَعَمَّوا
لَا يُطْفَئُنَّ بَنَى الْعَبَاسِ مُلْكَهُمْ بَنُوا عَلَىٰ مَوَالِيهِمْ وَلَنْ زَعَمُوا
لَا بَيْعَةً رَّتَعْتُهُمْ عَنْ دِمَائِهِمْ وَلَا بَيْنَ وَلَا فِيَنِي وَلَا نَهْمِ
كَمْ غَدَرْ لَكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَاضْحَكْتُمْ وَكَمْ دِمْ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَنْدَكُمْ

Of such as these God says: "*Those who violate the Covenant of God after its confirmation, and sever what God hath commanded to be joined, and do evil in the earth: these are the losers.*"

After having thus rid himself of the Imám 'Alí Ridá, al-Ma'mún sent for his son, whom the Shi'ites call Muḥammad Taqí, and the Arabs Muḥammad al-Jawád, and gave him his daughter Ummu'l-Faḍl in marriage, and made such a marriage-feast as the world hath never seen, for there were displayed as his gift to the bridegroom 400 plates filled with balls of ambergris in each of which was a pearl. And he then sent Muḥammad Taqí and his bride to al-Madína. And in the reign of al-Ma'mún died both the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd.

Account of the deaths of Sharwín and Wandád
 Hurmuzd, and the reigns of their sons
 Shahriyár and Qárin.

Sharwín left two sons, of whom Shahriyár, the ancestor of the Báwand princes, succeeded him, while Wandád Hurmuzd was succeeded by his son Qárin. When news of this reached al-Ma'mún, he sent to them (f. 99a) an ambassador with robes of honour, and wrote to inform them that he contemplated a campaign against the Byzantines, and needed the help of them and their captains. On one pretext and another they detained the ambassador for many days, until the Caliph had started on his campaign, when they dismissed him with many presents, saying, "The Is-pahbad Shahriyár can in no wise come, but Qárin will follow you immediately." So Qárin made preparations for the expedition, aided therein by Shahriyár, and on reaching Byzantine territory pitched his camp beside that of the Caliph. It happened that on that very day there had been a battle, wherein the champions of either side had contended with one another on the field. Qárin at once caused his horse's armour to be put on, armed himself with a Gílání shield inlaid with gold, and with his followers attacked the Byzantine army, and utterly routed them. Al-Ma'mún was watching them, and kept enquiring of those who stood round who these valiant warriors might be, and who was their leader with the golden shield. None could tell him, but they continued to send re-inforcements to their strange allies, until Qárin ordered a general attack on the centre of the Byzantine army, broke down their standard with his mace, and entirely routed the foe. Summoned before the Caliph, he advanced clad in his breastplate and quilted armour (*gazz-ágand*), alighted from his horse, and kissed the Caliph's stirrup. Then the Caliph recognized him, and be-

stowed on him a horse, and praised him greatly, conferring on him robes of honour and other tokens of his esteem. He kept him for some while in his service, and repeatedly urged him to embrace Islám so that they might confer on him the title of *Mawlá Amíri'l-Múminin* ("Client of the Prince of Believers") and make him governor of Tabaristán, but he refused, and was at length suffered to return to his country. But the Ispahbad Shahriyár was jealous of him and hated him, and, being the stronger, annexed many of his lands, to which acts of aggression he submitted. One night he dreamed that he made water on the summit of a lofty mountain, and from this water a fire came forth, and spread itself in every direction, and burned up the highlands, until it reached the plain, burning every tree on which it alighted. When he awoke, he summoned those skilled in the interpretation of dreams, and asked them its meaning. They answered, "From thy loins a son shall arise who will be king over both the mountains and the plains of Tabaristán, and who will be cruel and fierce and reckless." This dream and its interpretation became known through Tabaristán, and that very year was born his son Mázyár, and when he reached maturity his father Qárin died.

Then the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín coveted Mázyár's territory, and seized every occasion to vex and harrass him, until at length a battle was fought between them, Mázyár was defeated, and Shahriyár annexed his territories. Mázyár sought refuge with Wandá-ummíd the son of Wandásafán, but Shahriyár demanded his surrender, and Wandá-ummíd, not daring to resist his command, put Mázyár in chains, and sent a message to Shahriyár, bidding him send his men to take him into custody, since he feared that his own people might set him free. Meanwhile Mázyár succeeded in ingratiating himself with the wives of his gaolers, and by their means obtained his freedom, and fled to the forests, where

he lay in hiding until he was able to go to 'Iríq (f. 100a). There he fell in with 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'íd al-Jurayshí, one of the Caliph's *Amírs*, who received him with kindness, and brought him with him to Baghdad. Now al-Ma'mún had an astrologer named Bizíst the son of Fírúzán, whose name the Caliph had arabicized into Yaḥyá b. [Abí] Mansúr, and who has been already mentioned in the Preface of this book. One day Mázyár, carrying the table of his nativity in his sleeve, came to this astrologer, who at first paid no heed to him, until he heard him addressed as Prince of Ṭabaristán, Mázyár son of Qárin son of Wandád-Hurmuzd. When the astrologer heard this, he arose and offered his apologies for his neglect, and took the table of his nativity from him, and kissed it, and then began to examine it attentively. Then he turned all save Mázyár out of the room and said to Mázyár, "If I instruct thee, wilt thou shew thy gratitude for my help?" So Mázyár promised, confirming his promise with oaths. After some time the astrologer made known what he had discovered from the horoscope to al-Ma'mún, who summoned him into his presence and said: "The signal services rendered to me in the war with the Byzantines by thy father Qárin impel me to befriend thee, but this must depend on thine acceptance of Islám and utterance of the Muhammadan profession of faith." So Mázyár accepted Islám, and al-Ma'mún gave him the title of *Mawlí Amiri'l-Múminín* and the *kunya* of Abu'l-Hasan.

Some months after this the Ispahbad Shahriyár died in Ṭabaristán, leaving many sons, amongst whom were Qárin b. Shahriyar b. Sharwín, called Abu'l-Mulük ("the Father of kings"), and his elder brother Shápúr, who succeeded to the throne. But his vehemence and tyranny (f. 100b) disgusted his subjects, so that they deserted him, and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who ordered Muḥammad b. Khálid to deprive him of his highland possessions. But this Muḥam-

mad b. Khálid was not strong enough to do, and al-Ma'mún sought for some one else who would be able to crush Shápúr. The astrologer Bizíst happened to be present, and suggested Mázyár, remarking that his horoscope indicated him as likely to be successful in this enterprise. So al-Ma'mún sent him to subdue the highlands, and Músá b. Hafṣ to over-run the plains. The latter had been disgraced and dismissed by al-Ma'mún, but, by promising his support and co-operation to Mázyár, he induced him to ask the Caliph to make this appointment.

As soon as Mázyár reached Ṭabaristán, many of the people rallied to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of a large army, and marched on Farím to seek out Shápúr, whom he utterly routed, took captive, and put in chains, and then sent word to Músá announcing his victory. Now Shápúr, knowing that Mázyár intended to kill him, sent a secret message to Músá, offering him 100,000 *dirhams* if he would claim him as his own captive. Músá replied that he could best save himself by declaring himself a Muslim, and the client of the Caliph. But, being afraid lest Mázyár should discover his relations with Shápúr, he asked him what he would do if Shápúr should embrace Islám and offer for the Caliph's acceptance a sum of 100,000 *dirhams*. To this question Mázyár vouchsafed no answer, but that night he caused Shápúr to be beheaded, and next morning sent his head to Músá, who (f. 101a) was greatly enraged against him. So Mázyár, fearing lest the Caliph might send someone else instead of Músá to fight against him and subdue him, apologized for his conduct; and matters continued as they were in Ṭabaristán, until, at the end of four years, Músá died, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, to whom Mázyár paid no heed whatever, ruling undisturbed over highlands and plains alike. Shápúr's brother Qárin the son of Shahriyár, with all

the House of Báwand and the Marzubáns and Farshwád—the Marzubán of Tammísha, were filled with anger against him and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who sent a summons to Mázyár to appear before him. He replied that he was engaged in a religious war against the Daylamites, and thereupon marched at the head of his army to Jálús and took hostages from the nobles of that country, so that they were compelled to submit to him. Al-Ma'mún then endeavoured to persuade him to come to Baghdad, and sent the astrologer Bizíst to him to bring him thither. Mázyár, being informed of this, collected all the armed men he could find round him, and sent Yahyá b. Rúzbihán and Ibráhím b. Abla to Ray to meet him, bidding them bring him before him by way of Sawát-kúh, Kálbadraja and Kandí-áb, along roads so bad that it was impossible to ride. So when at length, after several days' hard travelling over the worst of roads, they came to where Mázyár was awaiting them at Hurmuzd-ábád, and saw him surrounded by a host of armed men of all conditions, they were filled with astonishment at his power and at the inaccessible character of his kingdom. So he entertained them royally for some time, but persisted in his refusal to accompany them to Baghdad, alleging that he was busy in fighting the Daylamites, but would follow them presently before the Caliph. So he sent them back, accompanied by the Qádí's of Amul and Rúyán, and when they reached Baghdad, and were questioned by the Caliph concerning the loyalty (f. 101b) and intentions of Mázyár, they answered contrary to the truth. But when they came out from the audience, and the Qádí of Ruyán had gone to his lodging, the Qádí of Amul lingered outside the audience-hall till he could get speech with Yahyá b. Aktham, to whom he said, "The Prince of Believers enquired concerning Mázyár publicly, and inasmuch as most of his courtiers and attendants are friends of Mázyár, and are in communication

with him, we were unable to declare the truth. Yet did I not deem it right to depart from the court without making known to the Caliph the true state of the case, which is that Mázyár has cast off his allegiance, put on once more the Zoroastrian girdle, treats the Muslims with cruelty and contempt, and will never again of his own free will come to Baghdad." Yahyá b. Aktham replied, "How long wilt thou, who art the administrator of the Holy Law and the Judge of a province, tell lies to the Prince of Believers? When he knows that thou hast lied to him, will he not needs dismiss thee from thy post?" Then he turned back and told the whole matter to al-Ma'mún, and came out again, and brought the Qádí of Amul secretly before the Caliph that he might tell his story. Al-Ma'mún was just preparing to start on a journey, and he said to the Qádí of Amul, "You must put up with it till I return, for this matter is the more urgent." "If we can thwart him," replied the Judge, "have we permission to do so?" "You may do so," answered the Caliph.

So the Qádí returned to Amul, and Mázyár, hearing that the Caliph had marched against the Byzantines, began to devour Amul and Sári like a ravenous wolf, and to drive the people of Rúyán to desperation, so that they conspired together to kill all his representatives. At Safúh near Amul they persuaded one Khalil b. Wandásafán to help them. This news (f. 102a) was brought to Mázyár at Sári, and he at once collected his troops and laid siege to Amul, the inhabitants of which closed the gates, gathered in the country-folk from the surrounding district, and went before Muhammad b. Músá and informed him that the Qádí of Amul had returned from Baghdad asserting that Mázyár had cast off his allegiance to the Caliph, and that he had received permission to kill him. Then Muhammad b. Músá summoned the Qádí, and, learning that the statement made

to him by the people was true, joined himself to them.

Meanwhile Mázyár sent off a courier to the Caliph, announcing that the people of Rúyán and the passes of Jálús had cast of their allegiance to him and had won over Muḥammad b. Músá to their side, and set up an ‘Alid claimant as anti-caliph, adopting white garments as their distinctive mark. “But I,” concluded Mázyár, “have sent an army to subdue them, and, please God, the news of my victory will shortly follow this.” At this time the city of Amul was guarded by a double moat and double fortifications, and it held out for eight months against Mázyár, though all the surrounding country was laid waste, and devastated by slaughter and pillage, by Mázyár’s brother Qúhyár the son of Qárin; while Mázyár sent constant despatches to the Caliph concerning the progress of the war, till at length the Caliph began to think that Mázyár was after all loyal and true. For Muḥammed b. Músá used to send all his despatches to an old servant of his father’s who lived at Ray, and who was supposed to forward them; but he had been tampered with by one of Mázyár’s acute agents, to whom he gave them instead, so that they never reached their destination, but were all read by Mázyár.

After an eight month’s siege, Amul capitulated, and Khalil b. Wandásafán and Abú Ahmád the Qádí were put to death by Mázyár, who wrote a despatch announcing his victory to the Caliph. Al-Ma’mún thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Sa’íd (f. 1026) to Ṭabaristán to investigate the true state of the case, and to find out who this ‘Alid claimant might be. This man reported that there was no ‘Alid claimant, and that the whole story was a lie invented by Mázyár. The Caliph, however, when he had read this report, was filled with anger against Muḥammad b. Músá, and handed over both the highlands and plains of Ṭabaristán to Mázyár. When Mázyár was informed of this, he made

a proclamation in Amul, collected all the chiefs, nobles and men of mark, including Muḥammad b. Músá, drove them before him to Rúd-bast, and placed each in his own house under the custody of guards.

In this same year tidings came to Tabaristán that al-Ma'mún had died on his campaign against the Byzantines at Qaydúm¹. Thereupon Mázyár sent his Magian followers to bring the prisoners from Rúd-bast to Hurmuzd-ábád, where he put them into fetters and reduced their allowance of food, depriving them altogether of salt, and not permitting them to go to the bath. Most of them died of privation, and Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother had nothing in their cells but a piece of matting each, and bricks for their pillows. Then Mázyár repaired the fortifications of Amul and Sári, constructed castles in the mountains, and compelled all the peasantry to work for him (f. 103a) in constructing fortresses and digging moats. He also established barriers and guard-houses on all the roads to prevent anyone bearing tidings of his doings to the outside world, and he hanged all who attempted to pass out of the country without his permission. In short his tyranny reached a pitch never equalled before or since his time.

Al-Ma'mún was succeeded by his brother Ibráhím al-Mu'taṣim, to whom 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir, governor of Khurasán, communicated something of Mázyár's misdeeds, tyranny, and apostacy. The new Caliph sent an ambassador to Mázyár to intercede for Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother; but Mázyár would not listen to the representation of this ambassador, Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh, but answered him harshly that he would exact from them two years' revenues before he let them go. So Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh the ambassador returned in despair, and wrote an

¹ [Tabarí (III, p. 1134) has "at al-Badhandún", which Yáqút (I, p. 503) describes as a town two days journey from Tarasús in Cilicia. A. G. E.]

account of his mission to Yaḥyá b. Ibráhím b. Muṣ'ab, who was at the Court of the Caliph, and who submitted it to al-Mu'taṣim. Mázyár meanwhile conferred various offices and distinctions on Bábak, Mazdak and other Magians, who ordered the Muhammadan mosques to be destroyed and all traces of Islám to be removed. The people of Amul persuaded Abu'l-Qásim Hárún b. Muḥammad to write a statement of their grievances to al-Mu'taṣim, and hence this *qaṣida* was composed:

أُسَارَى إِلَى الْفُورِ فُلْفُ الْأَسَاوِرِ
 بَنُو قَارِنٍ فِيَنَا طَحِينَ الدَّوَائِرِ
 لِمُعْتَصِمٍ بِاللَّهِ لِلَّذِينَ تَاصَرُّ
 نَعَمْ وَأَوْلَى الْأَمْرِ الْكَرَامِ الْعَنَاصِرِ
 فَعَنْ بَعْضِ الْأَبْمَانِ أَخْسَرُ خَاسِرِ
 أَنَا اللَّهُ جَبَارُ الْمُلُوكِ الْجَبَابِيرِ (f. 103b)

وَ فَابِلَةُ جُرْتُمْ غَدَاهُ سَوْفَكِمْ
 لَعْبَكِ لَوْ سَنَنَا أَمْنَنَعْنَا وَ أَصْبَحَتْ
 وَ لَكْنْ وَجَدَنَا اللَّهُ أَكَدْ بَيْعَةَ
 فَقَالَ أَلَيْبِعُوا رَبَّكُمْ وَ رَسُولُهُ
 وَ لَا تَنْعَصُوا الْأَبْمَانَ مِنْ بَعْدِ عَهْدِهَا
 وَ أَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِي أَوْفَ بِالْعَهْدِ إِنِّي
 وَ أَنَا بَطَعْنَا بِالْأَمَامِ رِجَاءِنَا
 أَنْرَضَنِي أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِمَا تَرَى
 أَبْجَعَنَا نَهَبَ الْمَاجِبُوسِ وَ مَا نَرِى
 بِبَدْرِ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَالِعِ
 قَانْ تَنْجِيْ مِثْلَ الْمَازِنَارِ وَ لَمْ بَدْفَ
 فَأَخْلَقَ حِبْلَى أَنْ تَشَدَّ جَبَيْنَهَا
 وَ مَا هُوَ فِي كَفِيكَ الْأَكْبَصَفَةِ
 وَ إِنِّي أَلَاقَى مَازِنَارَ كَأَنِّي
 اذَا دَلَّفْتَ رِابَاتَهُ نَحْوَ بَلَدَهُ

In reply to this poem, an answer, also in verse, was sent from Baghdad, from which the following verses are taken:

أَجِبُّوا إِلَى الْمَوْتِ الَّذِي سَاقُوكُمْ لَهُ عَدُوُّ شَدِيدُ الْبَغْيِ أَجْوَرُ جَائِرٍ
 فَانَّ إِلَهَ النَّاسِ عَوْنَ يُعِينُنَا
 وَ يَنْصُرُنَا رَبُّ لَنَا خَيْرٌ نَاصِرٌ
 وَ لَنَّ امْمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَفَائِدَ
 رَمَاسُمْ بِجُنْدِ فَوْقَ خَيْلٍ ضَوَامِرِ
 كَاتِهِمْ أَسْدَ مُعَارَ حُبِولِهِمْ
 مِنَ الْعَلِيِّ سِرْتُ كُلُّ طَرِيفٍ لِطَائِرٍ
 عَلَى الْدِينِ فَدْ تُرْدِيكُمْ كُلُّ كَافِرٍ
 فَلِيَتَكُمْ يَا صَفْوَتِي مِنْ رَعِيَتِي
 وَ لَنْ يَنْجُ مِنِي الْمَازِبَارُ قَسْوَةٌ
 وَ الْبِسْمُ مِنْ كُسْوَةِ الْفَتْلِ جَبَّةٌ
 صِبَاغَتُهَا حَمْرَاءٌ مِنْ دِمٍ فَاجِرٍ

When al-Mu'tasim was informed of Mázyár's doings, he ordered 'Abdu'lláh [b. Táhir] to proceed to Ṭabaristán and take him captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir sent his paternal uncle Hasan b. Husayn to the Caliph begging him to send Muḥammad b. Ibráhím with an army from 'Iráq to help him. When the army of Khurásán reached Tamnísha (f. 104a), the army of 'Iráq had already occupied all the highlands, and the people of Ṭabaristán left Mázyár and joined 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir and his uncle. These pursued Mázyár without rest or pause, till at length he was taken captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir confined him in a box entirely closed save for two eye-holes through which he could look upon the outer world, and carried him thus confined on a mule to 'Iráq.

One day on the journey Mázyár said to the mulcteer, "My heart craves for a melon. Can you get me one?" His guards reported this request to 'Abdu'lláh, who took pity upon him and said, "He is a king and a king's son." Then he ordered him to be released from the chest and brought before him, and placed loads of melons before him, and cut them up and gave them to him with his own hands, saying, "Grieve not, for the Commander of the Faithful is a merciful prince, and I wil intercede for thee, that he may overlook thy fault, and restore thee to thy country." Mázyár replied, "Please God, thy excuses will be accepted." 'Abdu-

'lláh was astonished, saying to himself, "The Caliph will not be content with anything short of his death: how then can he ask for my intercession?" Then 'Abdu'lláh ordered a table to be spread, and gave him bread and wine, and caused the minstrels to make melody, and entertained him sumptuously, and greatly encouraged him to hope, plying him with strong wines until he was overcome with drink, but himself passing the wine-cup. Then, when Mázyár was overcome with wine, 'Abdu'llah asked him the meaning of what he had said. Mázyár replied, "In a few more days you will know." 'Abdu'lláh pressed him, with threats and promises, to speak, and at length Mázyár agreed to do so if he would bind himself by an oath [not to betray him]. On receiving this pledge, Mázyár said (f. 104b), "Know that I, and Afshín, and Ḥaydar b. Ká'ús and Bábak, all four of us, have for a long while covenanted and agreed to take the empire from the Arabs and restore it to the Kisrás of Persia. Yesterday, at such-and-such a place, Afshín's messenger came to me and whispered something in my ear which filled me with joy." "What was that?" enquired 'Abdu'lláh. Mázyár at first refused to speak, but finally, induced by promises and flattery, he continued: "He brought me a message from Afshín to the effect that on a certain day, at a certain hour, he would destroy al-Mu'taṣim, and his sons Hárún al-Wáthiq and Ja'far al-Mutawakkil." Then 'Abdu'lláh gave him more wine, till he was entirely overcome with it, and then caused him to be taken back to his place of confinement; and at once wrote to the Caliph what he had heard, and despatched the letter by carrier-pigeon. When the Caliph received the letter it was the very day on which Afshín had invited him and his sons Hárún and Ja'far to a great entertainment. So al-Mu'taṣim sent word saying, "They are ill, but I will come," and forthwith proceeded thither with fifty horsemen. Afshín had

decked his house with bejewelled brocades, and had drawn up a hundred negroes, who, when the Caliph had sat down, were to rush upon him from all sides and slay him with their swords. When al-Mu'taşim reached the entrance, Afshín said, "Enter, o my lord!" but he paused and said, "Where are so-and-so and so-and-so?" Then he called his trusty retainers and bade them enter, while he stood outside. Then one of the Indians sneezed, and the Caliph rushed in, seized Afshín by the beard, and cried, "Plunder, plunder!" (النهب النهب). When the Indians heard this, they were filled with consternation, and took to flight; and al-Mu'taşim summoned his kinsmen and retainers, and bade them set fire to Afshín's palace. Then his servants took Afshín's beard from the Caliph's hand, and bound him with chains and fetters, and brought him to the Caliph's Palace, where they detained him till Mázyár's arrival. And they questioned him (f. 105a), saying, "Why didst thou see fit to cast off thine allegiance?" Mázyár replied, "You gave me the government of Ṭabaristán. The people rebelled against me. I reported this to the Court, and received orders to fight them." "Who wrote this answer to you?" enquired the Caliph. "Afshín," replied Mázyár. Then the Caliph summoned the lawyers and judges of Baghdad, and by their sentence Mázyár was first scourged to death, and then his body was crucified at the Khaṭíra of Bábil, opposite Náṭis the Byzantine, the lord of 'Amúriya. And Afshín was burned alive. And Mázyár had ruled over Ṭabaristán for seven years, and at his death the highlands passed into the control of Bundár the son of Múní.

Account of the kings of Ṭabaristán after Mázyár.

After Mázyár's death, Ḥasan b. Husayn, the paternal uncle of 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir, was made governor of Ṭabaristán, and ruled it well and justly for three years, four

months and ten days, and entrusted to Muḥammad b. Ibráhim the task of discovering Mázýár's treasures. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 228 (= September, A. D. 843) Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn died, and was succeeded by Táhir b. ‘Abdu'llah b. Táhir, who governed the country for one year and three months, until news came from Khurásán of the death of his father ‘Abdu'lláh there, whereupon he went to Khurásán, leaving his brother Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu'lláh to govern Ṭabaristán, which he did for seven years, assisted by ‘Attáb b. Warqá ash-Shaybání. In Ṣafáر, A. H. 237 (= August, A. D. 851) Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu'lláh went to Baghdad, and Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu'lláh became governor of Ṭabaristán. He governed with wisdom and discretion for three years, but in A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5) he made a secretary from Merv named Manṣúr b. Yaḥyá his minister, and this man introduced evil innovations and practised extortions, till he was dismissed by Táhir b. ‘Abdu'lláh, and Muḥammad b. Músá b. ‘Abdu'r-Rahmán (f. 1056) was made *wazír* in his place.

Qárin the son of Shahriyár embraces Islám.

In the year A. H. 240 (A. D. 854—5) the Caliph al-Mu^c-taşım sent one of his nobles to the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, king of the mountains, to bid him break his Magian girdle and embrace Islám, which he did, and there-upon received a robe of honour from the Caliph. At this time Muḥammad b. ‘Isa was governing Ṭabaristán, as deputy for the Táhirids, and his government was just and mild. Then Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu'lláh was sent to replace him, and he nominated first Quraysh and then Asad b. Jandán as his deputies, and later Muḥammad b. Aws, who united Rúyán and Jálús, placing his son Aḥmad in the latter place, as governor over it and Kalár; but his tyranny and harshness were such that all who were able sold or abandoned their houses and migrated elsewhere. And every year the taxes

were levied three times; once for Muḥammad b. Aws, once for his son, and once for a Magian who acted as their agent.

Account of the rule of the Tálibite Sayyids in Ṭabaristán.

The Caliphate had now passed to Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Mu'taṣim, whose minister, 'Abdu'lláh b. Yahyá b. Kháqán, was a fanatical Sunní (*Násibi*), who was continually inciting him to kill the descendants of the Prophet, and even prevailed upon him to destroy the tombs of the Martyrs of Kerbelá, dam up the water, grow crops on the site of their graves, and set Jewish watchmen and keepers there to arrest and slay any Muslim who visited these holy places. Thus in the time of ad-Dá'i Muḥammad [b.] Zayd the tombs of 'Alí and his son al-Husayn and other descendants of Abú Tálib were in ruins. But in the Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir (A. H. 247—8: A. D. 861—2) Muḥammad b. Zayd made himself ruler of Ṭabaristán, and thereupon began to preach the Shi'ite doctrine, and to inculcate the deepest veneration for the House of 'Alí, and to repair (f. 106a) their shrines, and to build fresh ones where he supposed their graves to be. In all this he was aided by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusráw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Hasan [b.] Buwayh, who surrounded these holy places with houses and *básárs*, and instituted the observances of Muḥarram and the *Yawmū'l-Ghadír* and other Shi'ite practices, and was himself buried when he died at Mashhad 'Alí.

It is related that when al-Mutawakkil was made Caliph, he had the same love of hunting down and slaying the descendants of 'Alí as an eager sportsman has for the chase. The Imám 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Hádī al-'Askarí, who was recognized by the Shi'ites as their pontiff, was his contemporary. One day the Caliph summoned this Imám

before him, caused him to be seated, and then, turning to 'Alí b. Muḥammad an-Nadím, enquired, "Who is the greatest poet of our day?" "Abú 'Ubáda al-Buhturí," replied the courtier, "And after him?" asked the Caliph:

گفت عبیدک ولد مروان بن ابی حفصه، بعد از آن رعید بام
 علی بن محمد کرد و گفت من اشعر النّاس یا این عّم، فعال علی
 ابن محمد الکوف، فل المتنوکل و لم قال لغوله (شعر)
 لعد فاخَرْتَنَا من فريش عصابة بِمَطْ خدود و أَمْتَدَادِ اصابع
 قَلَّما تَنَازَعْنَا تَنَعَّخَارَ فصي لنا عليهم بما نهوي نداء الصوامع
 متوكل گفت ما نداء الصوامع بابن عّم، فالأشهد ان لا اله الا الله
 و اشهد ان محمدًا رسول الله،

For this reason amongst others al-Mutawakkil slew 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí, and occupied himself day and night with drinking, debauchery and all sorts of folly and madness.

Al-Asma'í relates in his *Kitábu'n-Nawádir*, on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ṣáliḥ ad-Dimashqí, on the authority of Yúsuf b. 'Abdu'lláh, that al-Buhturí said: "I had composed for al-Mutawakkil the well-known *qaṣida* beginning:

عن ابی تغر تبتسم،

and I remained for a long while at the Court waiting for an opportunity to present it (because he cared but little for poets, and would not give them audience) but could find none. One day I was sitting in an ante-chamber when Bahrir, one of the Caliph's servants, came out, took me by the hand, and led me from ante-chamber to apartment and from apartment to ante-chamber till I reckoned that I had passed through three hundred apartments (f. 106b). At length he brought me to a room where I saw al-Mutawakkil sitting on a golden throne, round which stools were

set in order of their rank for his courtiers and attendants, who were clad in black. As soon as al-Mutawakkil's eyes fell on me, he cried to me, 'Recite, O Buhturí, recite!' Though I had not yet saluted him, I said to myself, 'Though it is a breach of etiquette, yet it is best for me to obey his commands;' so I gathered up my skirts and began:

عَنْ أَيِّ نَفْرٍ تَبَتَّسِمْ وَ بِأَيِّ طَرِّبٍ تَخْتَمْكُمْ

At once one of the courtiers sprang to his feet, looked at me, and said:

عَنْ أَيِّ سَلْيَجْ تَرْتَطِمْ وَ بِأَيِّ كَفٍ تَلْتَطِمْ

I was dumb with astonishment, saying to myself, 'It is a year since I composed this poem, and I have shewn it to no one: how could this wretched fellow spoil it thus by his extemporization?' Then I reflected that it must be an accidental coincidence, and continued, fixing my eyes on the Caliph:

أَعْمَلْتُ فِيكَ مَدَاجِحِي بَا جَعْرَ بْنَ الْمُعْتَصِمْ،

Instantly that same man rose up again, turned towards me, and said:

أَدْخَلْتُ رَأْسَكَ فِي حِرْمَ فَسَوْقَ مَنْيَ تَنَزِّهْمْ،

Thereat al-Mutawakkil was seized with such violent laughter that he fell back and his crown rolled from his head; and he gave the courtier who had parodied my verses ten thousand *dirhams*, while me they drove out with cuffs and blows. When I reached the ante-chamber, he passed me, with a servant carrying the money. I enquired of Bahfrí who he was. He replied, "Abu'l-Anbas ad-Damírí, who, had you composed two thousand verses, would have produced a parody of each."

In short, during al-Mutawakkil's reign the Sayyids of the House of 'Alí were in hiding in ruins and solitudes, till at length he died, dividing his realms between his three sons, of whom al-Muntaṣir, who became Caliph, was the eldest. He was opposed by the other 'Abbásids, and the Turkish guard, getting the upper hand, plundered the treasures of Sámarra, and besieged Baghdad, enraged at the support given by its inhabitants to al-Musta'ín. Matters being in this confusion, Yahyá b. 'Umar b. al-Husayn b. 'Alí b. al-Husayn b. (f. 107a) 'Alí b. Abí Tálib rebelled at Kúfa. He was a brave, accomplished and ascetic man. The people of Kúfa, supposing him to be actuated by need of money, offered to pay him a substantial sum if he would be quiet, but he swore that he would never have revolted had not his zeal been stirred by seeing God's religion contemned and the ordinances of the Law contravened and neglected.

آن مرد نیم کثر عدم بیم آند
کان ببم مرا بهتر از آن بیم آبد

Muhammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Táhir sent one of his officers named Hasan b. Isma'il with another named Turkí-takín to suppress this rising, and they captured the Sayyid, and cut off his head, which was sent to Muhammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Táhir. The people of Baghdad came to offer their congratulations, and amongst them the old Sayyid Abú Háshim Dá'úd b. al-Qásim al-Ja'farí, who said, "O Amír, I am come to congratulate thee on an event for which condolence would have been offered to the Apostle of God had he still been alive!"

* لَيْهَا الْأَمِيرُ جَئْتُكَ مَهِنَّا بِمَا لَوْ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ حَيَا لَعْزَىَ

The Rise to power of Hasan b. Zayd.

Such of the Sayyids as escaped from this battle fled to the highlands of Iráq and Farshwádgar and there concealed

themselves till such time as the people of Wárfú and Latrá were driven to desperation by the tyranny and bárbarity of Muhammád b. Aws. These, constantly seeing the learning, piety, and ascetic life of the fugitive Sayyids who had taken refuge amongst them, were strongly impressed in their favour, and said, "It is they who possess the characteristics of true religion." So they gathered deputations from the surrounding villages and went to the Sayyid Muhammád b. Ibráhím b. 'Alí b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán b. al-Qásim b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alí b. Abi Tálib, who was in Rúyán, and begged him to receive their oaths of allegiance, so that perhaps, by his blessing, God might free them from the tyranny under which they groaned. He replied, "I am not worthy to take up arms, but I have a brother-in-law, who is married to my sister, who is brave and competent, being skilled in war and tried in battle (f. 107b). If you will carry a letter from me to him at Ray, he will accept your offer and accomplish your desire." So the chief man of the deputations, 'Abdu'lláh b. Wandáummíd, at once despatched a courier with the letter.

Rule of the Sayyids of Tabaristán, of whom the first was Hasan b. Zayd.

When this courier reached Ray he saw Hasan b. Zayd and Isma'íl called *Jálibu'l-Hijára* ("the Stone-dragger") whose genealogy has been already mentioned in the preface, and communicated to them the letters of the notables of Tabaristán, urging them to revolt. To these he replied, and dismissed the messenger with a robe of honour. When he reached Rúyán, the news became known, and was communicated to 'Alí b. Aws. He at once wrote to 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'íd and Muhammád b. 'Abdu'l-Karím bidding them come to him to investigate the matter. The former was

afraid, left his house, and retired to the village of Ashtád. At this juncture the courier arrived with the letter of Hasan b. Zayd al-‘Alawí, announcing that he had alighted at the village of Sa‘íd-ábád, where he was expecting ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sa‘íd and his confederates to take the oath of allegiance. ‘Abdu’lláh thereupon went to [Muhammad b.] ‘Abdu'l-Karím with all the chief men of Kalár on Tuesday, Ramadán 25, A. H. 250 (= November 1, A. D. 864), and they swore allegiance, undertaking to observe the ordinances of God's scripture, and the practice of His Apostle, and to do good and forbid evil. And they wrote letters to the people of Jálús and Nírús, and sent missionaries to them, and remained that night with ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sa‘íd, and proceeded next day to Gúrishbard, where people joined them from all sides. News of this came to ‘Alí b. Aws, who did not rest until he had communicated with Muhammad b. Aws. And the Sayyids of that district, with Muhammad b. Ibráhím b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu'r-Rahmán, went out to meet Hasan b. Zayd, who reached Kajúr on Thursday, Ramadán 27 (A. H. 250 = November 3, A. D. 864), and performed the service of the festival which marks the conclusion of Ramadán, and preached a most eloquent sermon. Then he sent Muhammad b. ‘Abbás (f. 108a) and ‘Alí b. Naṣr and ‘Aqíl b. Mabrúr to Husayn b. Muhammad al-Hanafí, who was then at Jálús, to invite him to ally himself with them; and then they proceeded to the Great Mosque and received the oaths of allegiance of all the people of that district, save the few dependants of Muhammad b. Aws, who fled without horses or arms, some to Ja‘far b. Shahriyár b. Qárin and some to others.

Hasan b. Zayd next marched from Kajúr to Nátil, and received the allegiance of its inhabitants, and thence he passed on to Pá-yi-Dasht. At the head of his vanguard were Muhammad al-‘Alawí and Muhammad b. Rustam b. Wandá-

ummíd of Kalár, whom they called Khiyán; while the vanguard of the army of Muhammad b. Aws was Muhammád b. Ikhshíd, his *sipahsálár*. The two armies met at Pá-yi-Dasht, and Muhammad al-‘Alawí at once attacked the enemy, put them to rout, and took captive Muhammád b. Ikhshíd, whom he sent to Hasan b. Zayd. He then pushed forward with all speed to Balíkání near Amul, whither Sulaymán b. ‘Abd’ulláh b. Táhir had sent an army, which they defeated, taking captive Hasan b. Husayn.

Muhammad b. Hamza was ordered to proceed in person to Daylamán and seek for reinforcements. The Daylamites responded to the appeal, and Ummídwár the son of Lashkar-sítán, Wíhán the son of Sahl, Fálízbán, and Faḍl-i-Rafiqí came with six hundred men to Pá-yi-Dasht to reinforce Hasan b. Zayd, who on the same day received letters from the nobles and Ispahbads of Tabaristán promising him their support, and urging him to continue the war. Amongst these were Pádhúsbán the son of Kurdzád, the Ispahbad of Lafúr, the Maṣ-mughán, son of Wandá-ummíd, Wíjan the son of Rustam, Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf the son of Nidrand, and Khiyán, the son of Rustam. Encouraged by these letters and promises, Hasan b. Zayd formed a bodyguard of 20 horsemen and 200 footmen under the command of his kinsmen the Sayyids Muhammád b. Hamza and Husayn b. Ahmad (f. 1086). When Muhammád b. Aws heard this, he set his army in battle array and ordered Ibráhím b. Khalil to attack them; they, however, not only repelled the attack, but pursued their assailants, routed Muhammád b. Aws, and captured much of his baggage and many of his horses.

On Monday, Shawwal 23 (A. H. 250 = November 29, A. D. 864) Hasan b. Zayd reached Amul, and slew a number of his opponents, including Daylamí the son of Farrukhán, Muqátil the Daylamite (و مقاتل ديلمي), and Alí b. Ibráhím

al-Jílī; but Ibráhim b. Khalíl craved and obtained quarter. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, Ḥasan b. Zayd proceeded to the Oratory (*مَسْجِد*) of Amul, summoned all the people of the city, gentle and simple, and persuaded all save a very few to take the oath of allegiance to him. He abode in Amul for the remaining seven days of the month, during which period Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd, Wandásafán the son of Máhyár, and Surkháb the son of Rustam sought and obtained quarter. Then he appointed Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu'l-‘Azíz governor of Rúyán, Ja‘far b. Rustam governor of Kalár, and Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbás governor of Jálús, while he invited the people of Amul to choose a governor for themselves, whereupon they chose Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu'r-Rahmán, who was then acting as Ḥasan b. Zayd's deputy-governor at Rúyán.

The Mas-mughán, son of Wanda-ummíd, had already conceived a hatred for Muḥammad b. Aws because of his tyranny towards the people, and when he saw how the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd prospered, he came forth from the forests where he was hiding to Mámtír, where, on Thursday, Shawwál 26 (A. H. 250 = December 2, A. D. 864) he called upon the people to swear allegiance to Ḥasan b. Zayd, which they all did eagerly. Then he wrote tidings of what he had done to Ḥasan b. Zayd, who gave him in perpetuity the rule over Zarmíkhwást, and ordered him to go to Sárif and wait there till he should join him. He did so (f. 109a), and encamped by the village of Pútam at Nawrúzábád, while Ḥasan b. Zayd's emissaries went forth as far as Dá-máwand, Fírúz-kúh and the confines of Ray, and all the people of Ṭabaristán accepted the authority of Ḥasan b. Zayd. On Friday, Dhu'l-Qaḍá 14, (A. H. 250 = December 19, A. D. 864) he reached Tarícha with all his army, whence he proceeded to Jamanú.

Correspondence of the Ispahbad Qárin b.
Shahriyár with Hasan b. Zayd.

At this juncture the Ispahbad Qárin wrote to Hasan b. Zayd professing the utmost devotion to him, and promising to send him help. His real object, however, was to weaken Sulaymán al-‘Alawí, drive him from the country, and seize both highlands and plains for himself. When Hasan b. Zayd received this letter, he summoned the Daylamites and shewed them the letter, and they wrote to the Ispahbad saying, "If thou speakest truly, join thyself to us." The Ispahbad replied, "It is better that you should join me." Then Hasan b. Zayd began to suspect his motives, and Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh sent his general Asad [b.] Jandán with an army from Sári to a place called Dúdán on the road to Tarjí. Hasan b. Zayd sought counsel from his companions. An old man named Shahriyár the son of Andiyán, one of the chief counsellors of Sharwín, said to Hasan b. Zayd, "It is best that you should make it known that you intend to march against Asad, but during the night you should turn aside and go by way of Zarmí-khwást to Nawrúz-ábád, and thence to Sári, where you will attack Sulaymán, and crush him, after which you will easily defeat Asad and his army. But if you act otherwise, and defeat Asad first, he will escape to Sulaymán, and your affairs will be rendered difficult; and moreover God only knows what the result of your encounter with Asad may be. Besides this, Sulaymán, who is now at Sári, probably feels quite secure and is taking no precautions, since he will feel sure that you will first encounter his general Asad" (f. 109b).

Hasan b. Zayd determined to act on this advice, and to attack Sulaymán first; and Asad received tidings that Hasan b. Zayd had fled by night, whereupon he despatched a

courier to Sulaymán to inform him that the 'Alawí had fled. But as the latter was sitting rejoicing over this message, he suddenly heard the cries of "*Alláhu akbar!*" and saw around him the white standards of the 'Alawís, and heard the shouts of their Daylamite allies. Thereupon he fled bare-foot to Asad, while the Sayyid's troops slew all whom they could overtake of their foes. When Sulaymán reached Asad, he was already engaged with the Sayyid's troops, and the latter, like lions eager for their meal, pursued them, and slew amongst others Ḥusayn b. 'Alí of Sarakhs, 'Alí b. al-Ḥarb, Ishaq b. Shaykhí, 'Ali al-Maghribí, Ibn Tha'labá of Syria, and Naṣr b. Wabra of Syria. Then they looted Sulaymán's palace, sent the spoils to the village of Mihrawán, and then burned the palace to the ground. Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Sári on the first day of the five Persian *gátás* (فارسیه مسنته روز)، and the same day news was brought to him that his brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd had reached Shalmiyya near Damáwand, and Pádhúsbán the son of Kurd-zád came to him from Lafur, telling him that he ought to remain forty days at Sári. His brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd remained 23 days at Damáwand, where the chiefs of Láriján and Qaṣrán came in to him, and he was joined by Muḥammad b. Míkál. Meanwhile Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent messengers to Khurásán to demand help, while the stragglers of his army gradually joined him.

After a forty days' halt at Sári, Ḥasan b. Zayd turned back to go to Amul. The Daylamites, being laden with booty, dispersed, and went back to their homes. The Is-pahbad Pádhúsbán advised Ḥasan b. Zayd not to go beyond Jamanú till it was known what course Sulaymán would adopt. Soon afterwards Sulaymán himself arrived with a fresh army at Sári and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím (f. 110a) and Muḥammad [b.] Ḥamza bidding them join him with their forces from Amul and Mámtír. Sulaymán

had pitched his camp at Lícham, and a battle took place between the two forces at Tamashkí Dasht, in which Hasan b. Zayd was routed, and his men were dispersed to the forests. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aws pursued them into the forests, but they caught him unawares, and slew him with a blow from a mace. On that day Hasan b. Zayd shewed the greatest valour, and held the end of a bridge against the foe until he had seen his fugitive army cross in safety. Thence he marched to Úfar, while Sulaymán went to Tállániyán, and Muḥammad b. Aws pursued the men of Kalár, of whom he slew many in an ambush which he had prepared on the road to Úfar. But the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and the Mas-mughán had prepared another ambush for him, into which he fell with his soldiers, of whom they slew many, while he himself was struck on the head with a stone. When Hasan b. Zayd perceived that he could not withstand them, he retreated by way of Bálá'ín with Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd and Khurshíd the son of Gush-nasf, and came that night to Amul, whence next morning he came to Jálús, having lost many of his men, while those who remained with him were despoiled of almost all their garments and weapons, so that Já'i the son of Lashkar-sítán, one of his best-known lieutenants, had no clothes on his body. However some 10,000 *dirhams* were collected and spent on obtaining fresh clothes.

Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'lláh and the nobles of Khurásán, accompanied by the infantry of the king of the mountains, the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, came to Amul, while Hasan b. Zayd sent for re-inforcements to Gílán and Daylamán. In response to his appeal, several thousand adherents of his propaganda (ابناء دعوت) joined him, whereupon he prepared his army for battle, and moved on to Khwájak. Sulaymán, learning this, came from Amul to Páyi-Dasht, where he encamped. Hasan b. Zayd advanced to

the Lápich River (f. 110^b) and took counsel with his allies. The Daylamites said, "This place is good. Give us permission first to attack the infantry of the Ispahbad Qárín and dispose of them, for in this place when the infantry are routed, cavalry has no chance." Ḥasan b. Zayd gave them permission, and when they had routed the infantry, the horsemen were entangled in the bushes and underwood, and were taken prisoners, or else fled, casting away their arms. Amongst those killed were Sulayman's general Asad b. Jandán, Anúshírwán *Hazár-mardí*, 'Alí b. al-Faraj, 'Aṭṭáf b. Abi'l-'Aṭṭáf of Syria, the Ispahbad Ja'far b. Shahriyár, Qárín's general Dázmihí, 'Azíz b. 'Abdu'lláh, and 'Ubayd b. Yazíd al-Kházin.

Hasan b. Zayd remained there that day, and on the morrow came to Amul, whence after fifteen days he came to Jamanú, and gave an army to the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to fight the Ispahbad Qárín the son of Shahriyár. Pádhúsbán, having secured the assistance of Kúkbán-i-Bakhmí from Kimnán, burned and ravaged all the highlands of Qárín, who fled from before them, abandoning his kingdom, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd established his governors to collect the revenue. Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent a courier to Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Táhir in Khurásán, asking for reinforcements. In response to his appeal, 'Anátúr b. Bakhtánsháh and Gushnasf b. Más were sent to support him, with a considerable army, whereat Sulaymán took heart, for Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd was but weakly supported at Sárfí, some of his army being in the highlands, while his Daylamite allies had retired to Daylamán. Hearing of Sulaymán's increased strength, he therefore fell back on Jálús, where he was told that Wih-súdán the king of Daylamán had abandoned his cause; but a few days later Wih-súdán died, and 4000 Daylamites thereupon joined Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Meanwhile Fana (f. 111^a) had collected an army from

Farím and the highlands and come to Āmul, whence he wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd asking for his commands. Thereupon he sent Aḥmad b. Ḥasan to him to occupy the country, and to remove Ibráhím [b.] Khalil. At his commands, Fana marched against Ibráhím and defeated him. Ḥasan b. Zayd on hearing this came to Khwájak, where the people complained of Fana's oppression, further accusing him of having a secret understanding with Sulaymán and of corresponding with him. So he sent Muḥammad b. Abí Mansúr and ‘Isá b. Ḥamíd to him, bidding him come before him, but he came not. Again he sent a message to him, bidding him not be disobedient, but he returned an insolent answer. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd told the people of Āmul that Fana's blood was lawful to them, whereupon 10,000 men attacked and burned his house, while he fled to his nephew Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf; but Khiyán the son of Rustam with a number of his followers pursued him thither, and slew them both, and sent their heads to Ḥasan b. Zayd. Then Fana's son Layth came in, with all his followers, to made his submission to Ḥasan b. Zayd, having induced the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to intercede for him, and the Sayyid gave him a robe of honour, and conferred on him his father's possessions.

After a while Ḥasan b. Zayd moved from Āmul to Jamanú, where he remained for a month. While there, an encounter took place between his outposts and those of Sulaymán, in which many of Ḥasan's men were slain, including Muḥammad b. ‘Isá b. ‘Abdu'l-Ḥamíd. So Ḥasan b. Zayd was again obliged to retreat, accompanied by Muḥammad b. Rustam, the Mas-mughán, and Kúrankíj the son of Rúzbihán, sending the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and Wíjan the son of Rustam to the highlands to guard them. Then he returned to Amul, while Sulaymán abode at his palace at Sári, whither he brought his wives and retainers

from Astarábád; and the people (f. 111^b) again began to hesitate between the two rivals. Then Sulaymán sent Muḥammad b. Isma'īl to Amul, but Ḥasan b. Zayd, hearing of it, arrested and imprisoned him for a while, but afterwards released him, and suffered him to return to Sulaymán. Then Ḥasan collected his troops and went to Jamanú, having already warned the Mas-mughán to be on his guard, and sent Ja'far b. Rustam and Layth b. Fana and Wíjan b. Rustam with 700 men to help him. Sulaymán came out from Sári to meet them in battle, and the Mas-mughán had prepared an ambush for him, but he routed the Mas-mughán, who fled to the forests. A violent thunder-storm came on, so that the archers could not shoot, and Sulaymán and his men surrounded the Mas-mughán, but the men hidden in ambush by the latter rushed out against him, and slew many of his chief followers, including Jalwánán the son of Wandá-ummíd, Muḥammad b. Faḍl of Láriján, Muḥammad b. Khálid, known as Abú Miráh, and others, all of whose heads were sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár had gone with his army to meet the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to fight with him, and the latter sent his brother Kurdí-zád to Ḥasan b. Zayd to seek for help. In response to his appeal, Muḥammad b. Rustam with the men of Kalár, Wíhán b. Sahl with the Daylamites, and Khiyán b. Rustam with the troops of Amul were sent to reinforce him. The Ispahbad Qárin fled, and Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Amul on the day of the festival, whence, after the *'Id-i-adhá'*, he proceeded to Mámtír, where he remained for thirteen days. Sulaymán sent two ambassadors with a letter to Khurshíd king of Daylam, urging and encouraging him to help and befriend him, and to abandon Ḥasan b. Zayd, and offering him 7000 golden *dinárs* and many robes of honour to divide amongst the Daylamites, on condition of their withholding their help from the Sayyid. He also con-

structed a boat on the river Mihrawán, placed in it Azbar b. Janáh (f. 112a) and Sa'íd b. Jibrá'íl, and sent them to Ispíd-júy, where a wind arose which carried them in an hour to Jálús. Hasan b. Zayd's governor, being aware of this, seized the boat, and sent the ambassadors, with their papers, möney and robes of honour, to the Sayyid, who divided the valuables amongst the Daylamites, and humbled Khurshíd king of Daylam, so that all men perceived that Sulaymán's luck was on the wane.

Hasan b. Zayd came from Mámtír to Jámanú, and made the Daylamites swear to be faithful and loyal to him, and then marched against Sulaymán, who had moved from Sári to Dú'-Ab. The Mas-mughán advised that white flags should be fixed to the trees in front of his camp, so that he might suppose that it was the Sayyid's camp; and that meanwhile they should secretly go by way of Banahra to Wínábád and attack the enemy in the rear, so that they might suppose they were hemmed in between two bodies of the enemy. By this device they succeeded in defeating Sulaymán, and marched on Sári, while the Daylamites looted the bázars, killing and plundering. Sulaymán, abandoning his wives, children and relatives, fled precipitately, while of his chief supporters 'Anátúr [b.] Bakhtánsháh, Abu'l-A'azz Muhammad b. Qays, Muhammad b. Kathír, Gushnasf b. Más, Muhammad b. al-'Abbás, Muhammad b. al-Walíd, Músá b. al-Kátib, 'Alí b. Mansúr, and Muhammad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Qádí were killed, while the two ambassadors captured in the boat were, by order of the Sayyid, hanged. This victory took place on Thursday, Dhu'l-Hijja 8, (A. H. 250 = January 10, A. H. 865). Sulaymán's wife and children were taken captive, and when he reached Astarábád, he wrote a letter to Muhammad b. Ḥamza for him to lay before Hasan b. Zayd, couched as follows (f. 112b):

اکرمك الله بطاعته و ابفاك في سعادته و انتم نعمته عليك برجته

من أَحْاجِبُ مَعَهُ إِلَى التَّعْدَادِ وَ النَّطْوِيلِ فِي ذِكْرِ مَا يَجِبُ لِي عَلَيْهِ مِنْ
بَيْنِ هَذَا لِلْخَلْفِ فَلَنْتُ مِنْهُمْ غَنِيًّا عَنْ ذَلِكَ لِعْرِفْتُكَ بِمَا قَدِيمٌ وَ حَدِيثٌ
وَ عِلْمٌ بِنِيَّتِي وَ الْتَّحَافِي عَلَيْكُمْ أَهْلُ الْبَيْتِ فِي وَقْتِ الْمُخَافَةِ وَ
الصَّعْوَدَةِ وَ فِيَّكَ أَكْرَمُ اللَّهِ جَمَاعَةً مِنْ عِبَالِي وَ ذُوِّ رَحْمَي وَ مَنْحُومِينَ
بَيْنِ وَ مَنْفَطِعَنِ الْيَّى وَ انتَ احْقَقُ بِحِيَاطِهِمْ وَ حِيَاطَةِ الدَّارِ فَإِنَّ الْأَيَّارَ
قَدْ تَفَقَّدَتْ مَا تَمْتَحِنُ فَلَا تُخْسِرُ وَ أَرْجُو أَنْ يَكُونَ هَذَا بَأْعَثَ قِيمًا
وَ أَنْجَعَ وَ السَّلَامُ،

On reading this letter, the Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Sulaymán's wife and children and kinsmen to him with all honour and protection, and wrote with his own hand the following verse at the top of his letter:

لَا حِيْقَ فِي دِينِنَا وَ لَا أَنَّرَهُ بِالسَّيْفِ نَعْلُو جَمَاجِمَ الْكُفَّرِ
بَا فَوْمَنَا بَيْعَتَانِ وَاحِدَهُ هَلَى وَ هَاتَكَ بِيَعْتَهُ الشَّاجِرَهُ
رَدُّوا عَلَيْنَا تَرَانِ وَ الدَّيَا خَائِمَهُ وَ الْفَضِيَّبَ وَ الْأَحْبَرَهُ
وَ بَيْتَ ذِي الْعَرْشِ سَلَمُو لَنَا بِلَبِهِ مَنَا عَصَابَهُ طَهَرَهُ
فَطَالَمَا دُنْسَتْ مَشَاعِرِهِ وَ أَظْهَرَتْ فِيهِ فَسَعْهَا الْفَاجِرَهُ

The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár took refuge with the Mas-mughán, whom he induced to intercede for him with Ḥasan b. Zayd, to whom he took the oath of allegiance, and to whose court he sent his two sons Surkháb and Mázyár. And all this happened in the year A. H. 252 (A. D. 866).

Thereafter enmity arose between the Mas-mughán and Faḍl-i-Rafíqí, and the former took to the forests. Ḥasan b. Zayd tried by kind messages to induce him to return, but he refused, alleging that he was afraid of the Daylamites, and became a rebel. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd marched to Lankúr-khán and burned all the corn in the country, and sent Qárin in pursuit of him, but he fled away. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd came

to Sári, where news was brought (f. 113a) to him that Jálí the son of Lashkar-sítán was tyrannizing over the people of Amul, when some of them revolted and slew him. He thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to investigate the matter, and ten days later followed him himself. When he reached Tarícha, his cousin Qásim b. ‘Alí b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came from ‘Iráq, and he bestowed on him robes of honour and costly presents, and sent him to Amul, while he himself remained at Tarícha. He arrested Surkháb the son of the Ispahbad Qárin and his brother Mázyár, and put them in bonds, and sent Sayyid Ḥasan b. Ja‘far al-‘Aqíqí to Sári, giving him the government of that district and bidding him capture the Mas-mughán. Sayyid ‘Aqíqí wrote in a conciliatory strain to the Mus-mughán, and induced him to join him and apologize for his flight and rebellion. Rustam the son of Qárin, however, revolted at Mihrawán, and rendered the roads unsafe, but he sent Hurmuzd-káma the son of Yazdánkard and ‘Abbás b. al-‘Aqíl against him. Rustam b. Zabarqán met the supporters of Muḥammad b. Núh, slew some and took others captive, captured Muḥammad b. Núh, and brought him to Mihrawán. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ‘Aqíqí, being informed of this, sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd informing him that he had gone to Mihrawán to fight the enemy. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was then at Jamanú, at once came to Sári, and there joined Sayyid Ḥasan ‘Aqíqí, who had returned victorious, having slain many, and captured some 400 prisoners, abode for a while at Sári, until he heard that Ibráhím b. Mu‘ádh was sending re-inforcements to the Ispahbad Qárin b. Shahriyár, who was marching against him. So the Sayyid took the initiative, attacked his highland territory, slew all whom he met, and burned down houses and villages. Then he again took up his quarters at Sári for a while, left Sayyid Ḥasan ‘Aqíqí in charge of that district, and returned to Amul, whence he issued a proclamation to all the

Regions of Ṭabaristán bidding them add the [Shí'ite] clause “*hayya ila khayri l-amal*” to the call to prayer, and to say the *Bismillah* aloud in their prayers (f. 113b), and the like. This proclamation ran as follows:

نَأْمِرُهُمْ بِأَخْذِ الرِّعْلَا مَا فِيهِ جُمْلَةٌ فَدَرَأْيَنَا أَنْ تَأْخُذَ أَهْلُ عَمَلٍ
بِالْعَمَلِ بِكِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَسُنْنَةِ رَسُولِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَمَا صَحَّ مِنْ
إِمَامٍ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ طَالِبٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي اصْبُولِ الدِّينِ وَ
فَرْوَعَةٍ وَبَاطِئَهُارِ تَفْضِيلَهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَمَمَةِ وَتَنْهِيَّمَ اسْنَدَ النَّهْيِ عَنِ
الْعَوْلَ بِالْحَبْرِ وَالتَّشْبِيهِ مَكَانِهِ الْمُوَحَّدِينَ الْعَائِلَيْنَ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْتَّوْحِيدِ
وَعَنِ التَّحْكِمِ بِالشَّيْعَةِ وَعَنِ الرَّوَايَةِ فِي تَعْصِيَّلِ أَعْدَاءِ اللَّهِ وَأَعْدَاءِ
إِمَامِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَنَأْمِرُهُمْ بِالْحِجْرِ بِإِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِالْغُنُوتِ فِي
صَلْوَةِ الْعَصْرِ وَالْكَبِيرَاتِ لِلْمَسِّ عَلَى الْمَيِّتِ وَتَرْكِ الْمَسْحِ عَلَى
الْخُفْقَنِ وَبِالْحَاقِ حَتَّى عَلَى خَسْرِ الْعِدْلِ فِي الْأَذْانِ وَالْأَقْمَةِ وَأَنْ تَجْعَلِ
الْأَمَمَةَ مَنْتَهَى مَثْنَتِي وَتُحَدِّدَ مَنْ تَعَدَّى أَمْرَنَا فَلِيُّسْ لِمَنْ خَالَفَ أَمْرَنَا وَ
رَأَيْنَا إِلَّا سَفَكَ دَمَهُ وَأَنْتَهَاكَ مُحَارِمَهُ فَعَدَ اعْذَرْنَا مِنْ أَنْدَرْنَا،

On this same day Abú Muqátil ad-Darír the poet recited to the Sayyid a *qaṣida* which began “God is peerless and the son of Zayd is peerless” —

اللهُ فَرِّدُ وَابْنُ زَيْدٍ فَرِّدُ،

Hasan b. Zayd the *Dá'i* cried out at him in anger, and at once prostrated himself on the ground and repeated again and again, “God is peerless and the son of Zayd is a slave” —

اللهُ فَرِّدُ وَابْنُ زَيْدٍ عَبْدُ،

Then he ordered the poet to be driven from his presence. A few days later he returned with these verses:

أَنَّا مَنْ عَصَاهُ لِسَانُهُ فِي شِعْرٍ وَلِرَبِّما ضَرَّ اللَّبِيبَ لِسَانُهُ
هَبَّنِي أَسَأْتُ أَمَا رَأَيْتُمْ كَافِرًا نَاجِهَ مِنْ لُغْيَانِهِ اِيمَانَهُ

Yet still the Sayyid was displeased with him, until on the festival of Mihraján he composed and recited another *qasídá* beginning:

لَا تَفْلِ بُشْرَى وَ لِكُنْ بُشْرَبَانْ
غُرْغُرَ الدَّاعِي وَ بَوْمُ الْمَهْرَجَانْ (f. 114a)

Then he turned to the poet and said that he ought to have transposed these two hemistichs, so as to avoid the evil omen of beginning the poem with the negation *lā*; but the poet replied, "O Sayyid, the most noble formula is '*Lá iláha illa 'lláh*' ('There is no god but God'), yet that begins with *lā*." "Well said! well said," cried the Sayyid; "thou art right in this verse!"

It is related that one day the Sayyid was passing through the streets and markets of Amul when he saw written on a wall the words "*the Qur'án is the Uncreated Word of God, and whosoever calls it Created is an infidel.*" He reined in his horse and paused for a while to look at it, and then rode on. As a rule it was his custom not to return by the way he had come, but on this occasion he departed from his custom, and came back by that same spot. On arriving there, he perceived that the inhabitants of the quarter had effaced the writing, whereupon he smiled to himself and said, "*By Alláh, they have saved themselves from slaughter!*"

The Sayyid remained at Amul all the months of Sha'bán, Ramaḍán and Shawwál, while Hasan-i-'Aqíqí continued at Sári, until Muḥammad b. Núh joined the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, and the Mas-mughán became their ally, and they marched on Sári conjointly. 'Aqíqí retired before them to Tarícha, and Hasan b. Zayd sent Ja'far b. Muḥammad and Layth b. Fana with a thousand men to help him. Setting out from Tarícha, they first fell in with the Mas-mughán, defeated him, and slew his brother 'Abbás. Then they turned, advanced on Sári, attacked Muḥammad

b. Núḥ at a place called Girda-zamín, four parasangs from the city, and defeated him. Layth b. Fana shewed the greatest courage; and it was chiefly by his efforts that the victory was won. Next night Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Aqíqí made a sudden attack and slew many of them, and carried off much spoil, and Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh [b.] Táhir at Astarábád, and both retired together to Gurgán. Sulaymán is reported to have said: “One day I passed over to Gurgán with four comrades (*khayl-tásh*) to a place called Sulaymán-ábád. I heard a voice saying:

•
كَمْ تَهْرَمُونَ وَكَمْ تَحْفَى خَيْلُكُمْ عَذَا فِعَالْ دَبِيرْ فِي الْمَدَابِيرْ

When I looked back, I saw no one, and knew not who had spoken.” After this Sulaymán abandoned all idea of conquering Tabaristán, and retired into Khurásán.

Tabaristán is finally subjugated by Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh [b.] Táhir retired from Tabaristán, Sayyid Ḥasan took possession of the whole country, and was henceforth reckoned its ruler. He persecuted and slew all such as sympathized with the ‘Abbásids (*Musawwida*), till men were filled with the fear of him, and thought of nothing save how to obey and please him. On Wednesday, Dhu'l-Hijja 3, A. H. 253 (= December 4, A. D. 867) he gave standards to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím and Lashkar-sítán-i-Daylamí and sent them to Gurgán, and everywhere the people came out to meet them and made offerings to them. During the whole of this month and the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, A. H. 254 (January and February A. D. 868) the Daylamites remained with them, but when they found there were no spoils to be got, they entirely abandoned Muḥammad b. Ibráhím. After ten days he arrived

alone at Sári from Gurgán. At the beginning of Rabi' I, A. H. 254 (March, A. D. 868) Sayyid Hasan sent an army against the Ispahbad Qárín the son of Shahriyár, the king of the Mountains, to Hazár-garí, where they burned all the crops and destroyed the houses. When he reached Sári, Justán the son of Wah-súdán sent a trusty messenger to the Sayyid, asking him to send a representative in whom he had confidence to conquer by his aid the kingdom of Ray. So the Sayyid sent to him Ahmád b. 'Isá b. 'Alí b. al-Hasan, and part of the territories of Ray were captured by them, and the Sayyid came from Sári to Amul. Mázyár the son of Qárín and Shahriyái escaped from their captivity, and on Friday, the 2nd of Jumáda I, A. H. 254 (= April 29, A. D. 868) the Sayyid ordered their gaolers to receive exemplary punishment, and despatched the brother of the Masmughán Wandarand Wandád Hurmazd السفجی and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to seek for the Ispahbad Qárín in the highlands; but he fled from them to Qúmish (f. 115a).

And now the Sayyids of the House of 'Alí and the Banú Hásim began to flock to Ṭabaristán from the Hijáz, Syria and 'Iráq "according to the number of the leaves on the trees," and he gave them all welcome, and whenever he rode forth, he was surrounded by 300 'Alawís with drawn swords as a body-guard. And on this the Sayyid Násir-i-kabír Hasan b. 'Alí says:

كَانَ أَبْنَ زَيْدٍ حِينَ بَعْدُو بَقُومَهُ بُذُورُ سَمَاءٍ حَولَهُ أَنْجُمْ زَقْرُ
فَيَا يُوسُفُ فَوْمَ صَبَّاحَتِهِمْ خَبُولَهُ وَبَا نِعْمَ قَمِ تَلَاهُمْ جُونَهُ الْغَمُورُ

After this letters arrived from Ahmád b. 'Isá and Qásim b. 'Alí, who were with Justán the son of Wah-súdán, announcing that the districts of Ray, Qazwín, Abhar, and Zangán had been occupied by them, and that the people had responded to their propaganda. Then the Sayyid again sent Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to Gurgán with his standard,

and its people also submitted, and the Sayyid's rule was firmly established over a tranquil and obedient realm.

The Caliph al-Mu^ctazz sends Músá b. Bughá and Muflīḥ with an army to Ṭabaristán.

Qásim b. ‘Alí al-‘Alawí, who was in ‘Iráq, seized ‘Abdu-‘lláh b. ‘Azíz, one of the officers of the Táhirids, and handed him over to Faḍl b. Marzubán, who took him to Hasan b. Zayd, advising him to keep him securely. It was the *‘Id-i-Adhá* when the prisoner was brought to the Sayyid, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off. When this news reached the Caliph al-Mu^ctazz at Baghdad, he at once despatched Músá b. Bughá and Muflīḥ with an army to ‘Iráq. These met Justán the son of Wah-súdán and the Sayyids at Qazwín, defeated them, and slew many of the Daylamites, plundered their treasures, and came to Ray and thence to Qúmish and Gurgán, where they encamped. There they were joined by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السکنی, the vice-gerent of Muḥammad b. Táhir. Muflīḥ with the vanguard advanced to Tammísha. Sayyid Hasan b. Zayd (f. 115^b) had reviewed an army of 10,000 men at Amul, and with him was the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán, while Hasan b. Muḥammad al-‘Aqíqí with his forces was at Sári, on which Muflīḥ advanced with his hosts. ‘Aqíqí for a long while held the bridge of Sári with great valour, but was at length routed, and Muflīḥ came to Sári and abode there three days, after which he set out for Amul. Sayyid Hasan, because of the smallness of his force, retreated from Amul to Jálús, where he was deserted by most of his men, and thence went to Kalár to seek help from the Daylamites, but none shewed any eagerness to help him. Muflīḥ remained at Amul till Jumáda II, A. H. 255 (May—June A. D. 869), and then moved on to Jálús, halting at a place near there called ‘Umar-ábád. The Daylamites, being afraid of him,

abandoned Hasan b. Zayd. At this juncture, however, Mufiḥ received orders from Músá [b.] Bughá to return at once, which he did, travelling day and night, until at Gurgán he learned that the Caliph al-Mutazz bi'lláh Zubayr b. al-Mutawakkil had entrusted Gurgán to Ahmad b. Muḥammad السکنی. So they retired to 'Iráq, and the people once more began to gather round Hasan b. Zayd, and brought him back to Amul on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 255 (== September 3 A. D. 869). Yazíd b. Khashm wrote bidding him come at once to Gurgán, which he did, accompanied by his army; and Ahmad b. Muḥammad السکنی, induced by promises of favourable treatment, swore allegiance to him, and his affairs once again became prosperous and orderly.

Ya'qúb b. Layth marches against Ṭabaristán.

Ṭáhir b. 'Abdu'lláh, who was in control of Khurásán, was unable to govern his province with firmness; and at this time a man called "the Veiled Sayyid" (*Sayyid-i-Burqa'i*) revolted at Baṣra and Waṣīṭ in Sawád. This man is better known as "the Leader of the Ethiopians" (*Şálibu's-Zanj*), and 'Alí, in some of his apocalyptic writings (ملاحم), gave tidings of his appearance, saying:

نَاهِنُ كَاتِي بِهِ وَفِدْ سَارِ الْجَبَشَ الَّذِي لَا يَكُونُ لَهُ غَيْرَهُ
لَجْبٌ وَلَا مَعْفَعَةٌ (f. 116a) لَحْمٌ وَلَا جَمْحَمَةٌ خَسِلْ نَسِيفُونَ الْأَرْضَ
بِإِدَامِهِمْ كَلِّهَا اغْدَامَ النَّعَامَ وَبِلِسْكِنِكُمْ الْعَامِرَةَ وَالدُّورَ الْمَرْخَرَةَ الَّتِي
لَهَا اجْنَاحَةَ النَّسُورِ وَخَرَاطِبَ الْعِيلَةِ مِنْ أُولَئِكَ الَّذِينَ لَا
يُنَدِّبُ فَتِيلُهُمْ وَلَا يُقْدِدُ غَائِبَهُمْ إِنَّ كَابُ الدُّنْيَا لِوَجْهِهَا وَقَادِرُهَا بَعْدَهَا
وَنَاظِرُهَا بَعْنَاهَا .

Now it was at this juncture, while the Caliph and Ṭáhir b. 'Abdu'lláh were occupied with these matters, that Ya'qúb b. Layth, a brave and ambitious man, revolted and became

powerful. For many troubles distracted Khurásán, where rebels and robbers arose on every side, but Ya‘qúb b. Layth aş-Şaffár (“the Copper-smith”) was the most cunning and powerful of all. Originally of lowly origin and humble circumstances, he gathered a band of followers round him, and, owing to the weakness of the government, succeeded at last in dispossessing the governor of Sístán appointed by Táhir b. ‘Abdu’lláh. He was then proclaimed king, marched on Khurásán, and seized the territories of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’lláh [b.] Táhir, so that at length the Caliph thought it best to make over Khurásán to his control. Having taken Níshápúr he came to Dihistán, and sent secretly to سکنی, promising him Gurgán and Astarábád if he would abandon Sayyid Ḥasan and help him. So on the 1st of the month of Urdí-bihisht, A. H. 260 (Oct.—Nov., A. D. 874), they came together to Sári and fought with Ḥasan ‘Aqíqí, who fled to Amul without halting, pursued by Ya‘qúb b. Layth with lanterns and torches. The Sayyid Ḥasan came from Amul to Rúyán, while his followers abandoned him on all sides. Ya‘qúb b. Layth proceeded to Kalár, and Ḥasan retreated to Shírú. Ja‘qúb sent a message to the people of Shírú promising not to enter their territories if they would hand the Sayyid over to him, but they refused, incited thereunto by Kawkabán, one of the chief men of the place, and Ya‘qúb (f. 116b) was forced to retire. His baggage was cut off and plundered by the Daylamites, and he went to Kajú, and, by torture and threats, extorted from the people of Rúyán two years’ taxes, so that they were left without food or clothes. He then made Layth b. Fana governor of Rúyán, Pádhúsbán governor of Tabaristán, and Qásim b. Muslim al-Khurásání, one of his own men, governor of Jálús, while he retired to Amul. Immediately the people of Jálús attacked their new governor, burned his palace, and slew all his men. News of this was brought to Ya‘qúb, who

returned, cut down the trees and burned the houses, and then marched on to Kandasán by way of Kalár, and thence to Rúyán. But all his camels were destroyed by the fly, rain and thunderstorms came on, and he entrenched himself in Amul. No sooner had he arrived there than he heard that Hasan b. Zayd was coming, whereupon he emerged to the coast, and Hasan fled to Kúhpáya. Ya'qúb then marched to Kurd-ábád by way of Nátil, exacted two years' taxes from the people of the plain, and thence returned to Amul and Sári. He continued altogether four months in Tabaristán, and then retired from Sári by way of Qúmish to the neighbourhood of Ray, and wrote to his deputy in Sístan to release the 'Alawís whom he had taken prisoner and give them money to go to their own country. One of them was Sayyid Hasan b. Zayd's brother, Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muhammad b. Zayd.

As soon as Ya'qúb-i-Layth had quitted Tabaristán, Hasan b. Zayd came to Sári with an army of Daylamites, and the people again gathered round him. He advanced without halting to Gurgán, when he was met by the news that his brother, mentioned above, had been released by Ya'qúb, and was approaching. He went out to meet him with his whole army, and in Şafar, A. H. 263 (= November, A. D. 876) they met, and halted for the remainder of that month and the whole of Rabi^c I at Gurgán, after which he returned to Tabaristán to see his mother. A predatory band of several thousand Turks, blood-thirsty infidels, had entered Dihistán (f. 117a) and were preparing to attack Tabaristán. Hasan b. Zayd was then at Gurgán. He placed Muhammad b. Ahmad Khurásání in command of the vanguard, consisting of 2000 Daylamites, and himself took command of the centre. They met the infidels at Shúra in Dihistán, and completely routed them. Muhammad b. Tamím, known as Mardán-kulah was killed; and Hasan b. Zayd fought with great bravery, and

pursued the fugitives till they were all killed or dispersed. His courage on that day marked an epoch.

**Revolt of Layth b. Fana against Hasan b. Zayd,
and invasion of Tabaristán by Shárí, the
lieutenant of the House of Táhir.**

When Ḥasan b. Zayd arrived at Gurgán, news came from Amul that Layth b. Fana had revolted, so he left Muḥammad b. Ibráhím al-‘Alawí at Gurgán and himself went to Amul. The Daylamites refused to obey Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and began to loot and otherwise misconduct themselves. He therefore wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd, saying, "Thou knowest the evil character and vile nature of the Daylamites, and their rebelliousness against thy authority. They will not obey me, and the people are afflicted by them." But Ḥasan b. Zayd was occupied with Layth b. Fana, and had sent his army under Aḥmad b. ‘Isá to Láriján, because its lord, Parwíz, had asked for help, representing that Layth b. Fana had gone to Ray, and had induced its governor to attack Láriján. He therefore sent his brother, Abú ‘Abdi’lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, to Gurgán.

Now there was a certain Daylamite named Dakriyya who had fled from Muḥammad with his people, and gone to Khurásán to Shárí, the lieutenant of the Táhirids, whom he informed of the anarchy and unrest which prevailed in Gurgán, urging him to attack it, and promising to help him to obtain possession of it. So Shárí came from Isfará'in to Gurgán, and the Daylamites entirely deserted Muḥammad b. Zayd and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and went over to the invader. The two Sayyids came to Amul, and waited until Shárí desired to provision his army, and sent out the Daylamites, unarmed, to forage for provisions (f. 117^b). One of the chief men of Gurgán named Isháq said to Shárí, "Do

not give wealth to the Daylamites without good cause, or else they will deal treacherously with thee, as they have ever dealt with their *amirs* and rulers; for no one hath experienced at their hands aught but insolence, oppression, and ungenerous conduct." The Daylamites were gathered together at Sulaymánábad; and the people of Gurgán, gentle and simple, were all afraid of the barbarities they might perpetrate. So Shári and Isháq ordered them all to be put to the sword, and in one day 3000 of them were slain. News of this was brought to Hasan b. Zayd, and he was filled with malicious delight.

When it became known to Layth b. Fana that Shári had taken Gurgán, he induced the Turk, who was the governor of Ray, to let him go to Tabaristán to take the country for him, and was permitted to proceed to Láriján. When he arrived, he found that Ahmad b. Isá and the Masmughán were both there, and had stopped all the roads, and cried threats and imprecations at them from the mountains. Layth b. Fana put his horse at the river, but was unable to cross. The Turk was afraid and said, "Surely he intends some treachery towards me" So he ordered him to be seized and his head to be cut off: and this he sent to Hasan b. Zayd, offering at the same time his apologies for having invaded the country. Immediately after this news arrived that Shári, having collected much wealth, was about to leave Gurgán, and the Sayyid Hasan at once proceeded thither with his army. Shári fled to Khurásán, while Hasan b. Zayd entered Gurgán, slew many of the common people, and plundered their property.

Revolt of the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin the son of Shahriyár and his relations with Hasan b. Zayd.

At this time the Daylamites were plundering, stealing, and causing great trouble in Gurgán, breaking into the

houses of Muslims by night to rob and do evil, so that even unto Níshápúr men were in terror of them. So Ḥasan-i-Zayd caused the hands and feet of a thousand of them to be cut off in Gurgán, in consequence of which some thousand of his followers deserted him and joined Rustam the son of Qárin, who, though (f. 118a) ostensibly declaring himself to be loyal to the Sayyíd, was really bent on rebellion against his authority. When these Daylamites joined Rustam the son of Qárin, he had not sufficient food wherewith to feed them, so he suffered them to loot the countryside in search of provisions. Qásim b. ‘Alí, who was at Qúmish, wrote to him informing him that Muḥammad b. Mahdí b. Nírak was marching against him from Níshápúr, and at the same time asked for help from Ḥasan b. Zayd. Qásim had not the least suspicion of the intentions of Rustam, and was quite off his guard, when the latter suddenly and treacherously attacked and captured him, imprisoned him in the castle of Sháh Dizh in Hazár-garí, and seized Qúmish. Sayyid Qásim died in the castle. Then Rustam sent to the governor of Níshápúr, Ahmad b. ‘Abdu’lláh Khujistání¹, telling him that the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd were in a precarious state, and asking for his help. Sayyid Ḥasan plundered Qúmish and chastised Rustam; but the death of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’r-Rahmán, broke his spirit, for he loved him greatly and held him in high esteem. All the army of Sayyid Ḥasan went over to his brother Abú ‘Abdi’lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, who ordered them to attack the Ispahbad Rustam. When they had advanced one stage, the army of Níshápúr under Khujistání had reached Gurgán, so he sent messengers to turn his brother back, abandoned Gurgán, and retired into Tammísha. Khujistání pursued him to Ribát-i-Hafṣ, captured his treasures and baggage, and took many prisoners, but slew no one.

¹ See my translation of the *Chahár Mayála*, pp. 43—44.

Muhammad [b.] Zayd learned at Juhina that his brother had departed, and at Sarí rumour reached him that Hasan b. Zayd had been taken captive. Hasan b. Muhammad 'Aqiqí assembled the people and received their oaths of allegiance to himself, beheading all who refused to take this oath. But at Sarí he was met by Táhir b. Ibráhím [b.] Khalil coming from Hasan b. Zayd, from whom he learned that Sayyid Hasan himself was approaching. Thereupon he fled from Sarí and joined the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárín, and though Hasan b. Zayd tried to win him back by kind messages, he returned no answer, but continued with the Ispahbad till Khujistání had established himself in Bakrábád in Gurgán and collected supplies. The Ispahbad remained at Astarábád until Khujistání went to Níshápúr, and the men of Gurgán attached themselves to 'Aqiqí, who protected them from the oppression of Khujistání, and excused them their taxes, and all of them swore allegiance to him. But presently Hasan b. Zayd collected an army in Tabaristán, who, by threes and by fours, began to set out for Astarábád. When he reached the village of Námina in Panjáh-hazár, he chose out 500 horsemen, and made a night attack on Astarábád, so that at day-break he surprised Rustam, who only succeeded in escaping on foot into the highlands. Hasan b. Zayd, without delaying, set out for Gurgán, where 'Aqiqí knew nothing of what had happened to Rustam at Astarábád. The Sayyid therefore took him quite by surprise, so that he fled with only three horsemen to the plains, pursued by Muhammad b. Zayd, until he was finally captured and brought before Sayyid Hasan. As soon as his eyes fell on the Sayyid, he prayed for quarter, but the Sayyid, averting his face, bade Turk-i-Rúmí to cut off his head, after which they wrapped his body in a mantle and buried it in the Guebres' cemetery. Then the Sayyid sent his brother Muhammad b. Zayd into the Ispahbad's highlands to

pursue him, until at length, despairing, he sent messenger after messenger to beg for quarter, till at length the Sayyid wrote to his brother bidding him to spare the fugitive, but to seize all his possessions, and exact pledges that he would not in future maintain an army, all of which Muḥammad b. Zayd duly performed. On his return, his brother invested him with the standard and drum of authority, and sent him to Gurgán.

Death of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

This year the Sayyid fell sick, so that he was unable to sit his horse (f. 119a) and he continued thus sick for a year, and finally expired on Monday, Rajab 3, A. H. 270 (== January 6, A. D. 884), twenty years after he first appeared in revolt. During his year's illness he bade Abu'l-Husayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, known as al-Qá'im, who was his son in law, to take from the people of Ṭabaristán the oath of allegiance to his brother Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

Reign of Muḥammad b. Zayd over Ṭabaristán, and Revolt of Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn.

Muḥammad b. Zayd, with the title *ad-Dá'i al-Kabír* ("the Great Missionary") received the oath of allegiance from the people of Ṭabaristán. He was at the time of his brother's death in Gurgán, and his son-in-law, Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn, seized the money which was in the treasury and expended it in inducing the people to swear allegiance to himself, which most of the Daylamite chiefs did. He was also joined by the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin and Pádhúsbán.

When Muḥammad b. Zayd heard the news of his brother's death, he advanced on Amul with his army, many of whom had been secretly won over to the interest of

Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn, who tried to persuade some of them, such as Laythám the son of Wardán, and Abú Mansúr Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, to slay Muḥammad b. Zayd at Ribáṭ-i-Hafṣ. They refused to kill him, having eaten his bread and salt, but deserted him, and turned back to Gurgán. He too turned back thither, but the inhabitants refused to admit him, and he therefore took up his quarters in the village of Zawín. Abu'l-Husayn sent money and robes of honour for the people of the city, and bade them let Muḥammad b. Zayd remain where he was; and he dared not put his head outside Zawín until Ráfi' b. Harthama returned defeated from Khurásán, and sent for Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who was his servant, to come and meet him. Mahdí paid no heed to this message, whereupon Ráfi', divining Muḥammad b. Zayd's condition, sent (f. 119b) trusty men to him, brought him to his quarters and fought and defeated Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who fled to Khurásán. Laythám-i-Daylam went to Abu'l-Husayn, and 'Alí b. Surkháb was taken prisoner by Mahdí, but fled from him on the day of his defeat. Ráfi' handed over Gurgán to Muḥammad b. Zayd and returned to Khurásán. One day Abu'l-Husayn began to oppress his followers in order to enrich himself, and these consequently wrote in secret to Muḥammad b. Zayd invoking his assistance. He, having collected an army, arrived at Sári on Wednesday, the first of Jumádá I, A. H. 271 (= October 25, A. D. 884), and Abu'l-Husayn, who was there, fled from him to Amul, whence he started at night to join Laythám and Nu'mán at Jálús and go to Daylam. On the Sunday Muḥammad b. Zayd reached Amul, whence on the Tuesday he moved on to the village of Banafsh, whence he proceeded by night to Jálús, and there seized Abu'l-Husayn, with Laythám and the other Daylamites who were with him, with much spoil. That night he went on to Khwájak, and reached Amul, where, on Friday, the 6th of

Jumáda I, he was crowned king. Abu'l-Husayn, whose power had endured ten months, was cast into bonds, and pardon was proclaimed to his agents and officers, who thereupon submitted, and were made to render account of the moneys they had collected for their master. He also brought in Abu'l-Husayn's sister, who was the widow of his late brother Hasan b. Zayd, and took from her all her jewels and gold ornaments, after which he released Abu'l-Husayn, bidding all those from whom he had exacted money recover it from him. Thereupon the jurisconsults of Amul bore witness against him of exactions amounting to a million *dirhams*, upon which he was again cast into bondage, and sent with Laythám-i-Daylam to Sári, after which no one ever saw them again, and it was said that they were killed on the road thither.

So soon as Muḥammad b. Zayd was thus established as ruler of Ṭabaristán, he set out for the highlands against the Ispahbad Rustam the son of (f. 120a) Qarín, drove him out of the kingdom, and sent him to 'Amr b. Layth the Šaffári, who interceded for him; and pardon was granted to him on condition that he should swear henceforth to maintain no army, and to send all that he had to Muḥammad b. Zayd, and to pay all the tax and tribute which he had withheld. And Muḥammad b. Zayd established his capital at Gurgán where many retainers gathered round him, although he was unable to give him pay.

How Muḥammad b. Zayd attacked Ray; and what befel him with Ráfi' b. Harthama, and how an army invaded Ṭabaristán.

In Rabí' I, A. H. 272 (= Aug.—Sept., A. D. 885), Asatákín the Turk being governor of Ray, Muḥammad b. Zayd marched from Gurgán to Dámghán, and thence to Samnán and Khwár. A battle took place between him and the

army of 'Iráq at Wah-rádhán, near Ray, in which Muḥammad b. Zayd was defeated and fled to Láriján. Ráfi^c b. Harthama then invaded Gurgán, but troubles in Khurásán obliged him to go to Níshápur. In A. H. 273 (A. D. 886—887) Muḥammad b. Zayd returned to Amul, and celebrated the circumcision of his son Zayd, whom he nominated as his successor, joining his name with his own on the coinage and in the *khuṭba*. On the arrival of Ráfi^c in Khurásán the troubles there ceased, and the quarrel between Naṣr and Ismá'īl, the sons of Núh the Sámánid, was terminated. Ráfi^c then marched against Khwárazm, with the people of which he had already waged war; and carried off thence ten thousand (f. 120b) men as hostages.

What befel between Muḥammad b. Zayd and the
Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin; and
how an army invaded Tabaristán.

Rustam, dispossessed by the Sayyid, fled to Ráfi^c, and seven months later returned to Tabaristán with him at the head of an army. — The Sayyid, unable to withstand them, retreated from Gurgán to the castle of Juhína, where he was besieged for six months. At the end of this period he left a *kotwál* in charge of the castle, and himself escaped to Tammísha. Soon afterwards the castle capitulated to Ráfi^c, before whom the Sayyid fell back on Daylamán. In the beginning of Dhū'l-Hijja, A. H. 277 (— March, A. D. 891) he was still at Kajú, while the people suffered the direst distress from the invaders. The Daylamites came to the Sayyid's assistance; and Justán the son of Wah-súdán descended from the highlands to help him. Ráfi^c commanded his governor at Jálús, Muḥammad b. Hárún, to remain within his fortifications, and sent Rustam son of Qárin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Wāndawayh, 'Alí b. al-Ḥasan al-Marwazí, 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan, and the son of the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Pádhúsbán

to Jálús by the sea-shore, while he himself came to Ahlam. (f. 121a) Muḥammad b. Hárún thereupon came out of Jálús and pursued his foes. Owing to the exactions of Ráfi^c provisions become scarce and dear. At the beginning of Ṣafar, A. H. 278 (middle of May, A. D. 891) Ráfi^c marched from Jálús by way of Tálaqán in pursuit of Justán the son of Wah-súdán, and laid waste his territory. Finally Justán promised not to help the Sayyid, whereupon Ráfi^c withdrew to Qazwín. The Sayyid now marched on Gilán, while Ráfi^c came from Qazwín to Ray. Al-Mu'taṣid bīlláh, who succeeded about this time to the Caliphate, sent a messenger to summon Ráfi^c to his presence, but Ráfi^c seized the messenger and imprisoned him, though he afterwards let him go. The Caliph then appointed Abū'l-Abbás Aḥmad b. [‘Abd] al-‘Azíz b. Abú Dulaf al-‘Ijlí governor of ‘Iráq, and ordered him to give battle to Ráfi^c, who was defeated with heavy loss by the Caliph's troops on the river Kulahwár on Friday, Dhū'l-Qaḍa 18, and was compelled to fall back (f. 121b) on Tabaristán by way of Wíma.

Ráfi^c makes peace with Muḥammad b. Zayd.

When Ráfi^c reached Mihrawán, he heard that the Caliph al-Mu'taṣid had given the government of Níshápúr to ‘Amr b. Layth, whereupon he took the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. Zayd, on condition that he should hold Gurgán. On Tuesday, the 5th of Rabí^c II, the latter came to Amul, and Ráfi^c went to Gurgán. At this juncture news arrived that Aḥmad al-‘Ijlí, the Caliph's governor, had died at Ray, and that his son had succeeded him. Thereupon, on the 7th of Jumádá I, Ráfi^c marched on Ray, attacked and defeated him, and sent his army to Kúh-páya. A month later al-Mu'taṣid sent his son¹ to Ray, whereupon Ráfi^c abandoned the country.

¹ [i. e. ‘Alí, afterwards al-Muktaṣí. He was invested with the Government of Ray in Rajab, A. H. 281 (= September, A. D. 894) by his father, who

Ibn [Abi'l-] Aşbagh, the deputy of the Caliph's son, ruled justly, and reduced the country to order. In this same year Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz al-'Ijlí came to Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd at Amul, and was received by him with much honour and many gifts, including a million *dirhams* made up into a hundred bags, and was finally given the government of Rúyán and Jálús. On his arrival at Nátil, however, he was poisoned in some sherbet (لَعْنَة), and was buried there at the Bridge of Laythám. Ráfi^c, returning defeated to Gurgán, wished to attack 'Amr b. Layth, encouraged thereto by an officer who had deserted from that Amír. He besieged Ni-shápúr, but 'Amr remained within the walls. While fighting was going on round the city between the troops of Ráfi^c and those of Muḥammad b. Hárún, Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí, Mahdí b. Mukhayyas and (f. 122a) Faḍl b. Ja'far, 'Amr with 5000 men suddenly attacked and defeated them. Ráfi^c and 'Amr b. Layth both sought help from the Sayyíd, but he refused to help Ráfi^c, who, after various further misfortunes from rain and flood, was compelled to make peace and to renew his treaties with him.

How Ráfi^c took captive the Ispahbad Rustam.

Ráfi^c soon informed the Ispahbad Rustam that he had no intention of observing his new treaty with the Sayyíd, and, on Rustam's allying himself with 'Amr b. Layth, proceeded to seize him and put him in bonds, confiscated all his property, extorted large sums of money from his retainers, and gave his country to Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí. In Ramadán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895) Rustam died in his bondage.

In this year the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd gave money to Ráfi^c to induce him to adopt the white badge and at the same time appointed Ahmad b. Abfl-Aşbagh as his son's *káti'b*. See Ṭabarí, III, p. 2140. A. G. E.]

standard of the 'Alawís, and to exact from the men of Gurgán, Dihistán (f. 122b) and Jájarm the oath of allegiance to him; while he on his part sent the Sayyid a share of Rustam's plundered possessions. A quarrel now arose between Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán and 'Alí b. Surkháb, and the former, having killed some of the latter's men, went to Kílárján, and was reported to have cast off his allegiance. Ráfi' again marched against 'Amr b. Layth, but was again defeated, and fled to Khwárazm, the inhabitants of which city, having an ancient grudge against him, seized him, cut off his head, and sent it to 'Amr b. Layth, who sent it on to the Caliph. After this all Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gílán became the Sayyid's secure possession. In A. H. 282 (A. D. 895—6) news arrived that Ismá'il b. Aḥmad the Sámáníd had captured 'Amr b. Layth and put him to death, and the Sayyid was now freed from all anxiety, but just as his power, glory, fame and good repute seemed to be at their height, calamity befel him, even as the poet says:

كَدَّا كُسُوفُ الْبَدْرِ عِنْدَ تَمَامِهِ .

Cause of the Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd in his war with Muḥammad b. Hárún.

Ismá'il b. Aḥmad the Sámáníd sent Muḥammad b. Hárún with an army (f. 123a) against Ṭabaristán. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, confident in his power (for he had 20,000 men with him, and his antagonist only 3000), attacked the centre of his enemy's army with a mere handful of men, and was the first person slain. His head was cut off, his great army scattered, and his son Abu'l-Husayn taken prisoner on Friday, Shawwál 5, A. H. 287 (= October 3, A. D. 900). The Sayyid's headless body was buried at Gurgán in a place still known as Gúr-i-Dá'i ("the Propagandist's Grave"), and his head was sent to Bukhárá. He reigned in all sixteen

years. His son Zayd was for a long while kept a prisoner by Isma'īl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid at Bukhárá, whence he sent these verses to his friends in Ṭabaristán:

أَسْجِنْ وَقِيدُ وَأَشْتِيَاقُ وَغُبَّةُ، وَنَلْئُ حَبِيبٌ لِّنَّ دَا لَتَقِيلُ،
أَيَا شَجَرَاتُ الْمَجَنُونِ فِي شَطَ هُرْمَزٍ، لَشْوَفِي إِلَى أَفِيَائِكُنْ طَوِيلُ،
أَلَا هَلْ إِلَى شَمَ الْبَنْفَسَجِي فِي الْضَّحَىِ، بِخُشْكُرُودَ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْمِيَانِ سَبِيلُ،

These verses were shewn to Isma'īl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, who was so much affected by them that he released his captive, saying, "Thou hast thy choice of returning to Ṭabaristán or of remaining here." He replied, "The affairs of Ṭabaristán have gone beyond the point that there should be any place for me there, it is best for me to remain here." And so he lived, died and was buried in Bukhárá. Three sons of his are mentioned in the genealogical tree of the House of Abú Ṭálíb (*شجرة انساب طالب*, viz. Abú 'Alí Isma'īl b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, who migrated to Bukhárá; Abú 'Abdi'l-láh Muḥammad ar-Riḍá (f. 123*b*), whose descendants are settled at Baghdad; and Abú Muḥammad al-Hasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.

Account of Muḥammad b. Hárún and the rule of Isma'īl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid.

Muḥammad b. Hárún, having subdued Gurgán, set out for Amul and Sári, reaching the first named city on a Friday in the month of Tír, A. H. 287 (A. D. 900), and reigned for a year and six months, till Isma'īl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, marched against Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún refused to submit to his authority, and retired to Daylamán. Isma'īl encamped at a place called Ashlá Dasht, near Amul, in the plain of Líkání, and administered such justice as was almost unknown in

Ṭabaristán, restoring to the nobles and gentry the property of which they had been robbed by the Sayyids and others during the last fifty years. Thus he restored —

1,000,000	<i>dirhams</i>	to the children of Ibráhím Khalíl;
600,000	"	Ibráhím b. Isháq al-Faqíh;
500,000	"	Muhammad b. al-Mughíra of Rúyán;
500,000	"	Hárún b. 'Alí Abú Šádiq (see p. 74 <i>supra</i>);
200,000	"	Muhammad b. as-Sirrí;
300,000	"	Muqátil, cousin of the above;
500,000	"	the Ispahbad of Kalár;
300,000	"	Quṭquṭí of Sárit;
700,000	"	Qárin, Aparwíz and Khushk Khayán;
1,200,000	"	the family of aş-Šayfar (so A.; B. has aş-Šafír);
100,000	"	Surkháb the son of Jastán;
700,000	"	Ibráhím and Muhammad, sons of juríscouts, Ibráhím b. Míhrán, his brother Khalífa, Mansúr and Jalwá-nán, all of Tarícha.

He also restored the possessions of the poor and reduced their taxes, and so won the affection and support of all. This took place at the end of A. H. 288 and the beginning of A. H. 289 (end of A. D. 901).

The Rebellion of Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír (f. 124a).

Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír's name was Abú Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí, and he revolted in Gílán and Daylamán, declaring himself "the Avenger" (*ath-Thá'ir*) of his predecessor, Sayyid Muhammad b. Zayd, called *Dá'i 'l-Haqq* ("the Propagandist of the Truth"). Isma'il the Sámáníd sent against him his son Ahmad and his cousin Abu'l-Abbás 'Abdu'lláh b. Muhammad b. Núh. The armies met at a place called Falás,

and the Daylamites were defeated and two thousand of them slain, amongst them the fathers of the afterwards celebrated Mákán [b.] Kákí and of Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán, the subsequent rulers of Gíl and Daylam.

Ismá‘il the Sámánid entrusts the government of
Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-Abbás 'Ab-
dúlláh b. Muḥammad b. Núh b. Asad.

Ismá‘il the Sámánid, having entrusted the government of Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-Abbás, set out for 'Iráq to seek for Muḥammad b. Hárún. On reaching Samnán, he received tidings of the death of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣid (A. H. 289 = A. D. 902). Muḥammad b. Hárún effected a junction with Justán [b.] Wah-súdán, and both swore allegiance to Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír. In A. H. 290 (A. D. 903) the latter resolved on subjugating Ṭabaristán. Abu'l-Abbás summoned to his aid the Ispahbad Shahriyár, son of Pádhús-bán, the Ispahbad Sharwín, son of Rustam, king of the mountains; and the nephew of the latter, Parwíz, the lord of Láriján, and further wrote to Ismá‘il the Sámánid asking for help. In the month of Bahman, A. H. 299 (So A..? 289) Muḥammad b. Hárún, Justán [b.] Wahsúdán, and Sayyid Náṣir reached Tamanjáda, and encamped in a plain known as Kázar. The war lasted forty days, and the people of Amul in fear sent their children and goods to the country villages. At length the army of Abu'l-Abbás seemed to be defeated, and began to flee in rout to Mámítír, but he, with Shahriyár (f. 124b) and Kawkabán of Daylam, hurled himself upon the centre of the army of Muḥammad b. Hárún, who, deeming the victory already won, had removed one foot from his stirrup and crossed it over his horse's neck. His army, taken thus unawares, was routed, and fled to Anúshadádhán.

Ismá‘il the Sámánid had sent his son Ahmád to help Abu'l-Abbás, but he tarried on the way, hoping that his

cousin might be defeated. Abu'l-‘Abbás complained of this to Ismá‘íl, who recalled Aḥmad to Bukhárá, and reproached him, saying, “Thou pretendest that if Ṭabaristán be lost, no harm will accrue to Bukhárá. Dost thou not know that, should such a thing happen, we should no longer be safe here?” Abu'l-‘Abbás then went to Ray, and sent to Fáris, governor of Gurgán, bidding him be on his guard until Muḥammad b. Hárún’s death. Fáris forwarded this letter to Bukhárá, and requested Ismá‘íl to send him his insignia, standard and ring. Muḥammad b. Hárún again collected an army and came to Amul. Fáris spread abroad a rumour that Ismá‘íl was come, and on the day of battle stationed one of his officers dressed in Ismá‘íl’s robes, wearing his insignia, and bearing his standard in the centre of the army. Then he came to Muḥammad b. Hárún with ten men, saying, “O man, art thou mad to come and draw the sword against thy master? Lo, he sends me with his army and his signet-ring, promising thee pardon and safety and the government of this province.” Muḥammad b. Hárún, seeing the signet-ring and other insignia, was confounded, and said to his men, “Do you remain where you are,” (f. 125a) then he said to Fáris, “Advance, let us go to the Master!” Thus Fáris brought him to the centre of his own army, where he at once cast him to the ground, put him in fetters, and carried him off prisoner. Of his army, some joined Fáris, others went to Baghdad, and the remainder stayed in Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún was carried to Bu-khárá, paraded round the town, and then immured and starved to death. And so long as Ismá‘íl the Sámánid lived, Abu'l-‘Abbás ruled Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gilán.

Aḥmad b. Ismá‘íl the Sámánid sends Salám to govern Ṭabaristán.

Ismá‘íl on his death was succeeded by his son Aḥmad,

in A. H. 294 (= A. D. 906—7). After two years and a few months he dismissed Abu'l-'Abbás, whom he hated, from the government of Ṭabaristán, and in A. H. 297 (= A. D. 909—910) sent to succeed him a Turk named Salám. His father's officers, such as Abú Šáliḥ Manṣúr and Fáris, were disgusted at this, and wished to swear allegiance to Abu'l-'Abbás, who sought to retire to Gurgán to effect a junction with Fáris, but was stopped by Hurmazd-Káma, the lord of Tammísha, Rustam the son of Qárin, and the Ispahbad Shahriyár. He therefore returned to Amul, and tried to go thence by Kajú and Rúyán to Ray, but the Ispahbad Shahriyár met him at Injír and persuaded him to refrain from any act of rebellion. At this juncture Muḥammad b. Ḥajar arrived as an ambassador from Aḥmad b. Ismá'īl the Sámanid, bringing a robe of honour and conciliatory messages (f. 1256), and conducted him to Bukhárá, where the Sámanid nobles advised that he should be treated with honour and sent at the head of 30,000 horsemen to 'Iráq. In Jumáda I, A. H. 297 (= January—February, A. D. 910) Salám the Turk came to Amul, on the first day of the old Persian month of Adhar, and governed the country for 9 months and 22 days, till one day Abú Aḥmad Zanrás (B. "Zanráshan") of Náṣirábád came before him to complain of the exorbitant taxes which he was compelled to pay, and was answered by blows; whereupon he rushed out and raised the people against the Turk, whom, after he had fired the bázár and repelled them for three days and nights, they drove out of the city.

Aḥmad b. Ismá'īl sends Aḥmad b. Núḥ
to govern Ṭabaristán.

Thereupon Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad was made governor of Ṭabaristán, and he was accompanied by the son of Dhu'r-Riyásatayn.

The Russians come over the sea to plunder
Tabaristán

This year 16 ships filled with Russians came to Abasgún, as they had already done in the time of Sayyid Hasan b. Zayd, who defeated and slew them. This time they wasted and looted Abasgún and the adjacent coasts, and carried off or slew many Musulmáns. The governor of Sári, Abu'd-Darghám Ahmad b. al-Qásim, wrote news of this to Abu'l-'Abbás. Next year the Russians returned in greater force, burned Sári and Panjáh-hazár, and carried off many prisoners. Then they sailed to Chashma-Rúd in Daylamán; but, while some of them were on land, a number of the people of Gílán descended to the sea-shore (f. 126a), burned their ships, and slew those who had landed. Shírwánsháh, King of the Khazars, hearing of this, intercepted such of their ships as had escaped and destroyed them and their crews, and thenceforth the marauding raids of the Russians were stopped. Abu'l-'Abbás Ahmad b. Núh died in Ṣafar, A. H. 298 (= October, A. D. 910).

Aḥmad b. Ismá'íl sends Muḥammad b.
Ṣalúk to Tabaristán.

When news of the death of Abu'l-'Abbás reached Ahmad the Sámáníd he made Muḥammad b. Ṣalúk, who was then at Ray, governor of Tabaristán, and sent his wazír Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Bal'amí from Bukhará to meet him. They met near Amul at a place called Báshír, and Muḥammad b. Ilísá^c was also there.

Rebellion of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír.

This Sayyid, whose name was Abú Muḥammad al-Hasan b. 'Alí, had for some time been engaged in study and

teaching in Gílán. On the return of al-Bal'camí to Bukhárá, and the arrival of Muhammád b. Sha'lík at Amul, the people of Fajam, Maraz, and all Gíl and Daylam flocked to him. He sent his son Abu'l-Husayn Ahmád to Rúyán, and thence expelled the Sámáníd governor Muhím. Násir-i-Kabír then went to Kalár, and there received the allegiance of its Ispahbad Muhammád b. al-Hasan. Thence he proceeded to Gúr-Shír and Jálús, sending on his cousin Hasan b. al-Qásim with the vanguard to take Jalús. Muhammád b. Sha'lík had advanced to Búrábád with 15,000 men. Then a battle was fought (f. 1266), in which Ibn Sha'lík was defeated, and many of his soldiers slain. On a Sunday in Jumáda II, A. H. 301 (= January, A. D. 914) Sayyid Násir advanced to Jálús, captured Abu'l-Wafá Khalífa b. Núh, slew the Khurásání garrison, and razed the fortress to the ground. Ibn Sha'lík fled by way of Amul, Málika Dasht, Sári and Gurgán to Ray. Two days later Sayyid Násir came to Amul and established himself in the Palace formerly occupied by Hasan b. Zayd. He treated all with the utmost justice, pardoned such as had offended him, and received the allegiance of the people of Amul and the neighbourhood. Then 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Hasan raised the white standard at Sári, and summoned the people to support Sayyid Násir.

Quarrel between the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Násir, and arrival of an army from Bukhárá to subdue Sayyid Násir.

'Aqíqí joined Sayyid Násir, and, having been given an army of Gílis and Daylamís, was sent to fight the Ispahbad Shahriyár. Between Aram and Kúlá, however, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by Shahriyár, and was slain. His troops fled, and his head was sent by Shahriyár to Ibn Sha'lík. When news of Sayyid Násir's rising power reached

Bukhárá, Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Azíz to Ṭabaristán, but forty days after his arrival there he was defeated by Sayyid Násir, whose power now became paramount over Ṭabaristán. He wished to raise a tax of one-tenth on all produce, but the people complained, and he desisted from his intention. Aḥmad the Sámánid collected 30,000 of his own troops and sent to Turkistán for 10,000 more, intending to “transport the very earth of Ṭabaristán to Bukhárá” (f. 127a), but when he had only gone two stages on his journey, his attendants murdered him at midnight as he slept, and Sayyid Násir was for the moment left unmolested. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-Muqtadir bi’lláh appointed Aḥmad the Sámánid’s son Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Isma’il (Naṣr I) regent of Khurásán in place of his father, and he, incited by the messengers of Hurmazd-Káma and Sharwín the son of Rustam, sent Ilyás b. Ilísá’ as-Sughdí at the head of 10,000 men to Ṭabaristán. When these reached Tammísha, Abu’l-Qásim Ja’far b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alí an-Násir was at Sári, with a thousand men. Entrenching himself there, he wrote to his father informing him of the Sámánid advance. Abu’l-Husayn Aḥmad [b.] an-Násir went to Gílán and Daylamán, and spent much money in collecting an army, while the Ispahbad Shahriyár pitched his camp at Wínábád above Sári, still retaining the black standard and draperies (of the ‘Abbásíds), though he sent reinforcements to Sayyid Abu’l-Qásim. An undecided battle took place at Sári between Sayyid Abu’l-Qásim and Ilyás b. Ilísá’, and the Sámánid troops at length retired, leaving Ṭabaristán to Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír. The Ispahbad Sharwín also made peace with him, whilst Hurmazd-Káma retired to Astarábád, and the Sayyid handed over most of the administration to his cousin Abú Muḥammad al-Hasan b. al-Qásim, whom he set over his own sons, who were thereby filled with envy, as one of them, Sayyid Abu’l-

Husayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir, commonly known as Ṣáḥíbūl-Ṭaysh ("the Commander in Chief") says in a poem (f. 127b):

فِيَّا عَجَبَا مِنْ قُرْبِ أَسْبَابِ مَبْعِدِي
وَكُثْرَةِ أَعْدَائِي وَقُلْلَةِ مُسْعِدِي
فِيَا دُولَةً قَامَتْ عَلَى بِجُورِهَا
وَبِالَّذِي لَمْ يَرِعْ لِطَيْبِ مَوْلَانِي
هَلْ الْعَدْلُ إِلَّا قَسْمَةٌ بِسَوْبَةٍ
فَمَا بَالْأَتْرَابِيِّ رَفَعْتُ رُوسَهُمْ
فَإِنْ رُزِقُوا مِنْكَ الَّذِي قَدْ حُرِمْتُهُ
وَلَمْ أَكُلْتُ دُنْيَاكَ دُونِي عَصَابَةً
فَمَا اللَّهُ عَنْ ظُلْمِ الْعَبَادِ بِغَافِلٍ
أَنْ قَضَى فِرِيبُ الرِّحْمِ مِنْ أَجَلِ رِحْمِهِ
فَأَبَقَ عَلَى الْأَرْحَامِ خَوْفَ شَمَاتَةٍ
أَتَرْضَى بِأَنْ أَرْضَى حُطَّةً عَاجِزًا

He also reproaches his father, who was of the Imámí sect, in these lines:

يَا أَبَاهَا الْزَّبِيدَةُ الْمَهْمَلَةُ
إِمَامُكُمْ ذَا آبَةُ مُنْتَوَلَةٍ
وَفِي الْعَطَايَا جَعْدَةُ مُعْقَلَةٍ
وَأَظَهَرَ الرِّشَا وَالْقَنْدَلَةُ
غَضْنَمْ فَأَخْرَجْتُمْ لَنَا جَنْدَلَةَ
تُوبُوا إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَأَسْتَغْفِرُوا

Strife arises between -Ḥasan b. -Qásim
and -Náṣir.

Náṣir-i-Kabír had sent -Ḥasan b. -Qásim to Gíslán, bidding him bring the rulers of that province to Amul to swear allegiance to him. He wrote to Náṣir that he had persuaded Harúsandán the son of Tídá, Khusraw Fíruz the son of

Justán, and Laythám the son of Wardán, with all their tribesmen, to come in. But these bore Násir a grudge, because he had not performed all that he promised them, so they swore allegiance, not to him, but to -Hasan b. -Qásim (f. 128a). On reaching Amul, -Hasan alighted at Muṣallá (the Oratory) and did not go before Násir, but came next day with his guards and retainers to ask for provisions for his army. Násir was frightened, and fled from his quarters on a mule towards Pá-yi-Dasht, but was pursued and captured by -Hasan, who brought him back to Amul, and thence sent him to the castle of Láriján, while his allies looted the Palace. Thereafter arosc a great strife between the partisans of Násir and of Hasan, and Laylá b. Nu'mán came from Sári, and headed an attack on Hasan's palace. They reviled him, took from him his signet-ring, and brought him back to Amul before Násir, of whom they asked pardon. When Hasan, deserted by his followers, was brought before Násir, the latter said without one reproach or bitter word, "I forgive thee," and bade him return to Gílán. But Abu'l-Husayn Ahmed b. an-Násir interceded for him, got him recalled, and gave him his daughter (who was afterwards the mother of Abu'l-Fadl ad-Dá'i) in marriage; and he was given the government of Gurgán.

-Hasan b. -Qásim sets out for Gurgán. He is
attacked by the Turks, and be-
sieged in the Citadel.

After -Hasan b. -Qásim had set out for Gurgán, Sayyid Násir sent his son Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far after him to support him (f. 128b). But the latter, having a grudge against him, purposely lagged behind, and kept writing to his father, saying, "This man cherishes enmity against thee." And when, on approaching Gurgán, the Turks came out to give battle to -Hasan, Abu'l-Qásim abandoned him to his fate;

and Ḥasan, being unable to withstand them, fell back on Astarábád, and withdrew into the castle of Kajín, which had remained in good repair from the time of Shápur Dhu'l-Aktáf [the Sásánian] until the time of Ardashír b. al-Ḥasan, who ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should fall into the hands of Tukush b. Il-Arslán. There Ḥasan remained all the winter, besieged by the Turks, while his men suffered much from the cold. At length, being in want of food, he made a sortie with a few of his followers, attacked the Turks and slew some of them, and made his way safely to Amul, and thence to Gilán. Sayyid Náṣir now retired from public life and devoted himself to study and teaching, and the fame of his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Traditions, Philosophy, Poetry and Literature brought him many visitors from distant lands. He finally died on Sha'bán 5, A. H. 304 (January 31, A. D. 917), having sent his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad to Gilán and made his son-in-law -Ḥasan b. -Qásim his successor.

-Ḥasan b. -Qásim, called *ad-Dá'i ulla'l-Haqq*.

Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ash-Shajarí b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭalib now succeeded under the title of *ad-Dá'i* (f. 129a) *ulla'l-Haqq* ("The Summoner unto the Truth"), or, as he is called in the *Kitábū'l-Ansáb*, *ad-Dá'i aṣ-Ṣaghír* ("the Lesser Dá'i"). He reached Amul on Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 304 (= March 9, A. D. 917), and Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir surrendered the sovereignty to him. The brother of the latter, Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far b. an-Náṣir, sent to him, saying, "The kingdom is our father's, why then dost thou surrender it to him?" but he paid no heed, and an estrangement between the two brothers resulted. Ja'far went to Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lúk at Ray, and promised to adopt the black colour of the

^cAbbásids, to coin moncy in the name of the (Sámánid) rulers of Khurásán, and to insert their names in the *khuṭba*, and help to recover Ṭabaristán for them.

Hasan governed justly and well, and made the people contented and happy. When Ja'far came to Amul, Hasan retired to Gílán in A. H. 306 (= A. D. 918—919), and Ja'far remained there seven months, extorting exorbitant taxes from the people, till -Hasan returned in Jumádá II, A. H. 307 (November, A. D. 919), and again established justice, so that all men prayed for long continuance of his life. He had his palace at Muṣallá ("the Oratory") near Amul, and built lofty dwellings for his officers round about him, so that they should not dwell in the city, or vex and molest the inhabitants. The Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár the son of Wandá-ummíd agreed to pay him the tribute they had paid in the time of Sayyid Hasan b. Zayd, but -Hasan b. -Qásim, not deeming this enough, marched against them, defeated Shahriyár at Kawíj, and made peace with Sharwín.

At this time the Sámánids were vainly endeavouring to subdue Níshápúr, and Sayyid Hasan sent against it Laylá b. Nu'mán (f. 129^b), who took it. Then he proceeded to Tús, where, being defeated by the Sámánid army, he fled to Gurgán. There a number of the Daylamite chiefs gave him their allegiance, and conspired with him to kill Sayyid Hasan by treachery, but, the plot being made known to the Sayyid, he, without saying a word to any one, marched to Gurgán, seized the conspirators, and beheaded them. Amongst them was Harúsandán, the father of Siyáh Gil, chief of Gílán. So men's hearts were filled with fear of Sayyid Hasan, and thenceforth no one dared to plot against him. Leaving Abu'l-Husayn [b.] Náṣir at Gurgán, he then returned to Amul. Shortly after this Abu'l-Qásim b. an-Náṣir collected a number of followers in Gílán, while Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn [b.] Náṣir also turned against Sayyid Hasan, and

sent his general Abú Músá Hárún Isfáh-dúst to Amul, where, however, he was defeated and slain. On this event 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad al-Kátib has the following verse:

كَمْ لَهُمْ بِكُلِّ تَجْهِيدٍ كَمِيْهِ وَ هُمْ أَمْرٌ بِعَجَابٍ

Sayyid Ḥasan, having concluded peace with Abu'l-Ḥusayn for a payment of 10,000 dirhams, sent 'Alí b. Ja'far ar-Rází against the Ispahbad Shahriyár, and Ḥusayn b. Dínár against the Ispahbad Sharwín. Both submitted and came in (f. 130a), but fled on being informed that Sayyid Ḥasan thought to put an end to the trouble they were continually causing by casting both of them into prison. Sayyid Ḥasan was therefore compelled to pursue them, and finally had to be content with taking their sons as hostages for their good behaviour.

Sayyid Ḥasan next ordered Ilyás b. Ilísá^c to evacuate Gurgán, but, as he paid no heed, he was attacked, his army routed, and himself killed. When this news reached Bukhárá, the Sámánids sent Qará-takín the Turk with 30,000 horsemen to Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn retired into Tammísha, knowing that they could not withstand so large a host, and Abu'l-Ḥusayn presently deserted Sayyid Ḥasan, went to Gílán, and joined Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far, while Sayyid Ḥasan took refuge with the Ispahbad Muḥammad b. Shahriyár, who, however, put him in fetters and sent him to 'Alí b. Wah-súdán, governor for the Caliph al-Muqtadir at Ray. Táhir b. Muḥammad the scribe was sent to 'Alí b. Wehsúdán bidding him not to forward his prisoner to Baghdad, but to imprison him in his fathers' castle at (f. 130b) Alamút, where he remained a prisoner until Muḥammad b. Musáfír defeated 'Alí b. Wehsúdán at Qazwín, when Khusraw Fírúz released him and sent him to Gílán.

Meanwhile Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan and his brother Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far succeeded conjointly in expelling Qará-takín

from Ṭabaristán, which was rendered the easier by troubles in Khurásán which required his presence. The brothers then remained in Gurgán until Aḥmad Ṭawíl was sent against them from Bukhárá, but him also they defeated, and he fled alone to Bisṭám, while most of his army dispersed to Járm and Isfará'in.

Sayyid Ḥasan, on his release, came to Gílán, sent to Ṭabaristán for his hidden treasures and moneys, and therewith collected an army, with which he invaded Ṭabaristán, and advanced to Āmul and Sári. Abu'l-Husayn and Abu'l-Qásim sent Abú Bakr az-Zífrí to Āmul to obtain news, but at Astarábád he heard that Sayyid Ḥasan had already reached Lamrásk, whereupon he at once returned to make his report. Abu'l-Husayn, Abu'l-Qásim and [the son of] Harúsandán¹ held a council of war (f. 131a), and it was agreed that the first should march on Astarábád and give battle to Sayyid Ḥasan, while the two others remained in Gurgán. Next morning these last went out from the city to the Dá'í's Tomb to await news from Astarábád. A *ghulám* of 'Alí Qumí Darzí came out from Gurgán, however, with the news that Laylá's men were plundering their houses and stealing their treasures. Thereupon they went back to the city, and Abu'l-Qásim found the very mats stripped from his house, and learned that there were only ten of his followers left in it, whereupon he cast himself on the ground and burst into tears. Laylá denied any complicity in this robbery, but told Abu'l-Qásim that he could not remain in Gurgán; and as he feared to go alone, he gave him an escort of 30 men under Lashkar-sítán. The Daylamites had shut the gates, but he got out by the new

¹ [Harúsandán has already been beheaded; see p. 205 *supra*. Should we not perhaps read "the son of Harúsandán" (پسر) having dropped out in the MSS.) i.e. Siyáh Gil (cf. p. 205)? A little lower down this same person appears to be designated علی قی درزی and درزی قی. A. G. E.]

road of Kaláta, having only three *dínárs* in his possession with which to buy bread (f. 131b). On advancing a little further he met three men, who informed him that Sayyid Ḥasan had defeated his confederate Abu'l-Ḥusayn. Abu'l-Qásim and Darzí Qumí were now left alone in despair and bewilderment. The former bought an ass in a neighbouring village, and went by Bisṭám to Dámghán, and thence to Ray and Gilán.

Sayyid Ḥasan, having defeated Abu'l-Ḥusayn, sent him a kindly message, saying, "I am thy servant, and the kingdom is thine, having been thy father's before." So these two were reconciled.

When the House of Símjúr began to cause trouble in Khurásán, [Abú] 'Alí b. Símjúr came to Gurgán, and invited the Sayyids, as men of peace and religion, to abandon the country quietly to him. They refused, and fought a battle with him at the village of Jaláyín. Surkháb the son of Weh-súdán attacked and routed him, while Abu'l-Ḥusayn scattered his right wing. His men fled into the plain, but when they had gone some distance, the Turks turned at bay, alighted from (f. 132a) their horses, and fired a volley of arrows, completely routing their assailants, so that the Sayyids Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled, accompanied only by one *ghulám*, and by 'Alí b. Buwayh [i. e. 'Imádú'd-Dawla], Mákán b. Kákí, and Jakáw the *sipahsálár*, while the Turks pursued them to Abasgún. In Tammísha they halted and began to fortify themselves, while Sayyid Ḥasan, leaving Mákán there, went on to Amul to gather fresh troops. Abu'l-Ḥusayn then again attacked the Turks, repulsed them, and re-occupied Gurgán. This victory was at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 310 (= April 20, A. D. 923). For some time after this Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn held Tabaristán thus, the former residing at Amul, the latter at Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan built mosques and colleges, encouraged and patronized

men of learning and poets, and governed the people wisely, and beneficently. After a while Abu'l-Husayn again quarrelled with and attacked him, but was defeated, and fled to join his brother Abu'l-Qásim.

These two then allied themselves with Mákán b. Kákí, 'Alí b. Khurshíd, Asfár b. Shírúya and Rashámúj, and determined to seize Sayyid Hasan, who, being informed of their designs, marched from Āmul to Sári with Rustam' b. Sharwín. The brothers Abu'l-Husayn and Abu'l-Qásim marched along the coast to Mishkawá, meaning to fight him next day at Sári, but Sayyid Hasan fled that night, none knew whither. Abu'l-Husayn nominated his own governors and lieutenants, and on Thursday (f. 132b), the 8th of Jumáda I (A. H. 311 = Aug. 24, A. D. 923), came to Āmul, but behaved so exorbitantly and tyrannically towards the people that they longed with all their souls for the former government. And on Tuesday, Rajab 29, A. H. 311 (= Nov. 13, A. D. 923) Abu'l-Husayn died.

On his death, Abu'l-Qásim, his brother, was left in undisputed possession of Tabaristán, for Sayyid Hasan had fled to the mountains, where many of those who loved his rule joined him. On hearing of Abu'l-Husayn's death, he approached Āmul, halting at a place known as *Gázar-gál* (the Washing-place) to fight Abu'l-Qásim; but in Ramadán, A. H. 311 (= Dec. A. D. 923—Jan., A. D. 924), most of his men having deserted to the enemy, he again fled to the mountains. About the same date Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim ordered Khalíl b. Kájí to kill 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Mubárak the scribe, stick his head on a pole, and parade it, with an ink-stand set before it in mockery, through the bázars. But Abu'l-Qásim himself died soon afterwards on Tuesday, Dhu'l-Qa'da 10, A. H. 312 (= Febr. 7, A. D. 925).

All Gíl and Daylam now swore allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's nephew [Abú 'Alí] Muhammad b. Ahmad [b.] al-Hasan, who

was beloved for his justice and beneficence as much as he was feared for his courage.

Abu'l-Qásim had made Mákán b. Kákí governor of Gurgán (f. 133 α), and he, with Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán and Abú 'Alí b. Iṣfahán, agreed to swear allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's little son (by Díkú, daughter of Iṣfahán) Ismá'íl and make him king; which design, however, they kept secret, until Sayyid Abú 'Alí summoned them to his presence, when they marched from Gurgán to Sári, Abú 'Alí having gone with only a few retainers to Mámtír. Mákán then sent his army to seize him, bidding them drag him from his horse, and snatch off his *kuláh*, which was done. Then Mákán sent him to Gurgán to the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, who came to Amul and crowned Isma'íl. Mákán wrote news of this to Sayyid Ḥasan, and sent his brother Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí with the insignia of royalty to Jájarm and Khurásán, whither also he despatched an army. 'Alí b. Buwayh, the paternal uncle of Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusráw, was the Sayyids' governor of that place, and he, with his 400 men, was defeated and captured by Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí, who slew all the Khurásání soldiers who fell into his hands. Soon afterwards Mákán wrote to his brother to return to Gurgán and take over the government of it from the Amír Ká; and he sent a confidential message to his brother bidding him kill Sayyid Abú 'Alí, who was lodging in the house of Radí, and send him his head. As the two sat drinking together, Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí began to quarrel with the Sayyid, who, divining his object, made some pretext for leaving the room, and borrowed from one of his servants a small knife (f. 133 δ) which he concealed in his dress. Then he returned, and when Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí, waxing more quarrelsome, seized him by the throat, he threw him down and ripped up his belly. To escape, the Sayyid was obliged to leap from the roof thirty yards down into the moat. He then sent his ring to

'Alí b. Khurshíd and Asfár b. Shírúya, who were in revolt against Mákán and were plundering on the high roads of Gurgán, and they at once joined him and swore allegiance to him. Soon he had an army round him, and was in possession of Gurgán.

As soon as Mákán heard of his brother's death, he collected an army and marched on Gurgán, but the Sayyid, by bribing Rashámúj the son of Shír-Mardán to desert to his side was able to discomfit and rout him. Mákán fled to Lamrásk (f. 134a) without halting, left the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, there with a regiment, and continued his flight to Sári. Sayyid Abú 'Alí, having left 'Alí b. Khurshíd in charge of Gurgán, pushed on to Lamrásk, where the vanguard of his army had already defeated Amír Ká. Without halting he marched on to Sári and defeated Mákán, who fled into the city, after slaying Abú Ja'far Kúrankíj, who tried to seize him. He was pursued by the soldiers from quarter to quarter and repeatedly wounded, but struck down a soldier who tried to arrest him and escaped. In trying to cross the river he was thrown from his horse, which he then abandoned, together with his coat of mail, and fled through a garden to a house belonging to a poor man, whose help he implored, and who hid him in the branches of a mulberry-tree. The soldiers arrived there and threatened the poor man, who, however, would not betray Mákán's hiding-place. When they had gone, he brought Mákán out, bound up his wounds, and, when he was strong enough, set him on his way, so that he escaped to the highlands of Sári. When afterwards Mákán became powerful and prosperous, he richly rewarded his deliverer, whose name was Kayán Búj, raised him to a high position and conferred honour on his family. Sayyid Abu 'Alí came to Amul and took possession of Ṭabaristán. He ruled firmly and wisely, but ere long was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo.

When the mourning for his death was concluded, the people (f. 134b) swore allegiance to his brother Abú Ja'far. His accession was soon followed by a serious riot, caused by the injustice of his minister Abu'l-Hasan [b.] Abí Yúsuf, in which disturbance many persons were killed, even in the chief Mosque, where the soldiers massacred numbers of the congregation as they came from public prayer on Friday, till at length the people rose and expelled the troops from the city.

Mákán b. Kákí kept writing from his highland retreat to the Dá'í urging him to revolt and promising him his support, but he would not stir until Mákán had collected 500 men at a place above Nátıl still known as "Mákán's camp". When Sayyid Abú Ja'far learned this, he marched from Amul to Nátıl, and encamped opposite Mákán. Many of the notables of Amul, such as Sayyid Abú Ja'far *Mánk-dím*, Abu 'Abdi'lláh Muhammad b. al-Hasan, Abú Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alí, the head-man of Amul and nephew of Husayn b. 'Alí Faqíh, and 'Abbás b. Qábúsán, wrote letters to Mákán promising to help him. He bade them remain quietly in the city, but they disobeyed him, and, gathering a great rabble of the townsfolk, made manifest their intentions (f. 135a). Sayyid Abú Ja'far, learning this, sent against them 1200 picked soldiers, who utterly routed these undisciplined levies, killing many of them. Next day Sayyid Abú Ja'far Násir entered Amul, where Abu'l-Hasan the minister had exacted large sums of money from the people.

Mákán again urged the Dá'í to revolt, but he still refused, until Asfár the son of Shírúya and Muṭrif, his minister, having exacted vast sums of money from the people, retired to Gurgán and openly cast off their allegiance to Abú Ja'far, who sent 'Alí b. Khurshíd to Sári as governor. After a month or so, Asfár came from Gurgán and attacked him, defeated him, imprisoned him in the caravanseray of Ḥasan b. Bahrám, seized the city, and proclaimed himself king.

Meanwhile Mákán's strength continued to increase, and he determined to attack Sayyid Abú Ja'far, who, on his approach, fled from Amul to Wandád-Hurmazd Kúh. Mákán occupied the city, and at once sent messengers to the Dá'í to bring him from Gílán. When he arrived, amidst the rejoicings of the people, he advanced with Mákán from Amul to Sári. Asfár fled at their approach (f. 135b), while the Ispahbad Sharwín retired into his highlands. At this juncture Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid marched from Bukhárá with an army of 30,000 men to subdue Ṭabaristán and 'Iráq, and entered the highlands of Ṭabaristán. Abú Naṣr was Sayyid Hasan's governor in Shahriyár-kúh, and he blocked the roads, broke down the bridges, and so entangled Naṣr b. Aḥmad in the highlands that he was unable to get out, and was reduced to great straits for food and fodder, so that finally he sent an ambassador to Sayyid Hasan asking him on what terms he would let him depart. The Sayyid sent 'Abdu'lláh b. Salám and Abu'l-'Abbás [b.] Dhu 'r-Riyásatayn to him, and concluded peace, on the understanding that he should pay an idemnity of 20,000 *dindárs* and depart to Khurásán.

When the Sámánid had departed, Mákán began to behave arrogantly towards the Sayyid, who left him, and went to Gílán with the Ispahbad Sharwín b. Rustam. Mákán sent messengers to make apologies, but the Sayyid would not listen to them. Then Asfár collected an army of 7000 Turks, Gílís, and Daylamites and came to Amul, where he fought with Mákán for three days and nights at the gate known as *Dar-i-Fúr*. Rashámúj had promised to help Mákán, and actually joined him on the fourth day. All the people were watching the fray from the roofs of the various buildings. Mákán looked back, saw them, and said, "Why do ye not take down these dogs?" Then Mákán's troops dashed at Asfár's and routed them, and

pursued them to Sári. Asfár came to Gurgán, releasing 'Alí b. Khurshíd, whom he had kept in bonds (f. 136a), and who was brought to Mákán, and by him restored to liberty. Mákán then marched on to Astarábád, while Asfár went to Abú Bakr b. Ilísá^c, Naṣr b. Aḥmad's commander-in-chief, who turned back to Sári, and in A. H. 315 (A. D. 927—8) despatched Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán to the highlands to seek out Sayyid Abú Ja'far, whom he brought in to Sári, bare-headed and bare-footed, and imprisoned in the Palace of Abu'l-Abbás [b.] Dhu'r-Riyásatayn. Then the Dá'í wrote to Mákán, reproaching him bitterly for what he had done to Sayyid Abú Ja'far, notwithstanding all his protestations of friendship and promises of support to himself; and there-upon Mákán released Abú Ja'far and sent him to the Dá'í. Then the latter, supported by Gíl and Daylam, and accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín, came to Āmul, where Mákán came out to meet him. Soon after this Mákán slew Abú Naṣr, who had come to Sári, with a blow from his mace, while he was riding with him, and restored the government of Shahriyár-kúh to the Ispahbad Sharwín, whom he dismissed with presents and robes of honour. Asfár joined Abú Bakr [b.] Ilísá^c and on his death, which occurred shortly afterwards, the army swore allegiance to him. Abú Bakr had a *ghulám* named Il-Tughdí, who, fearing Naṣr b. Aḥmad, joined Asfár, and secured for him the kingdom of Khurásán. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, hearing this, sent Śáliḥ b. Sayyár (f. 136b), with the insignia of royalty, to conciliate him, and Asfár waxed bold and tyrannical, so that the people of Khurásán conceived a great hatred for him.

Mákán and the Dá'í being now reconciled, a great army gathered round them, and they marched on Ray, expelled its governor, Muḥammad b. Ša'lik, and annexed it. Asfár, hearing of their absence, marched on Ṭabaristán with the army of Khurásán, and Abu'l-Hajjáj Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, the

elder brother of Washmgír, who was with Qará-takín the Sámánid, asked permission to join this expedition.

News of this invasion reached the Dá'i and Mákán at Ray, and the latter begged the former to remain there while he marched back to fight the invaders. But the Dá'i would not listen, and, with 500 men, marched to Amul. The people of Amul, on account of Abu'l-'Abbás al-Faqih al-'Alaqí, refrained from helping the Dá'i; and Asfár, who was at Sári, hearing of his weakness at Amul, and of Mákán's absence at Ray, marched to Amul and attacked the Dá'i, who came out to meet him in battle, but was slain by Mardáwíj with a blow of his mace at 'Alí-ábád as he was endeavouring to recross the river and regain the city. On the same day Abú Ja'far Mánk-dím and another, a descendant of 'Aqíl b. Abí Tálíb, were slain, and Ṭabaristán passed into the possession of Asfár, who appointed his own governors, and, being reinforced by a Turk named Agúshí and his tribe, marched on Ray and defeated Mákán, who fled to Ṭabaristán, while Asfár remained at Ray to enrich himself and his army (f. 137a). Then, leaving Agúshí at Ray, Asfár returned to Ṭabaristán. Mákán thereupon fled to Daylamán. Asfár swore allegiance to Abú Jaf'ar, who, however, he shortly afterwards seized, together with Abu'l-Ḥusayn Shajarí and Zayd b. Ṣálíḥ, and sent them in chains to Bukhárá, while Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled. These three remained in captivity at Bukhárá till the death of Abú Bakr Zakariyyá, when they were released, and returned to Ṭabaristán. Amul was ceded to Mákán on condition that he should not interfere with the rest of Ṭabaristán. Agúshí the Turk behaved so tyrannically at Ray that Asfár resolved to kill him, but he fled to Qum, pursued by Mardáwíj, whom Asfár sent after him, but without success.

At this juncture the Caliph al-Muqtadir sent his cousin Hárún b. al-Gharíb against Ray, but he was defeated by

Asfár. Mákán, not regarding his treaty, strove to bring all Ṭabaristán under his control, made Hasan [b.] Fírúzán his deputy at Āmul, and himself marched to Gurgán and thence to Níshápúr, accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár of Wandád-Hurmazd-Kúh. There he fought many battles and gained many victories, but a report arose in Ṭabaristán that he was dead, and Hasan [b.] Fírúzán assumed the control of affairs and placed the crown on the head of Isma'íl the 'Alawí, who was his half-brother, giving him Fátima, the daughter of Aḥmad, who had been the wife of the Dá'i, as his wife. But Khadíja, the mother of Abú Ja'far, bribed two of Díkú's handmaidens with 400 *dinárs* to poison Isma'íl with a poisoned lancet while he was being bled. Later, when these handmaidens quarrelled and divulged the secret, both were hanged at Shálús by Díkú. Hasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Āmul, but was expelled by Abú 'Alí of Isfahán and Abú Músá, two of Mákán's officers, and retreated to Daylamán. Asfár went from Ray to Qazwín, and slew many of its inhabitants, because they had, in a riot, slain his lieutenant, and burned the *bázárs*, and many of the people fled into exile. Mardáwíj b. Ziyár quarrelled with him, gathered a number of followers, and retired to Zangán, whence he made an attack on Qazwín, and drove Asfár to Ray, and thence to Qúmish, where he was joined by Abu'l-'Abbás b. Kálanjár. With him Asfár fell back by way of Quhistán on Ṭabas, whither he was pursued by Mákán. Thence he endeavoured to reach the castle of Alamút, but Mardáwíj stopped the way (f. 138), and finally captured him in Tálaqán and beheaded him. All this happened in A. H. 319 (A. D. 931). Mardáwíj, being now quit of Asfár, slew many of the rabble who had supported him, including Aḥmad b. Rasúl and Abu'l-'Abbás 'Aşṣárí, and established himself at Ray. Mákán advanced from Khurásán to Ṭabaristán and made peace with Mardáwíj, who sent messengers

to Gílán by way of Qazwín and brought Násir to Ray. Mákán had tortured Abu'l-Faḍl Shágird, a relative of Muṭrif, to make him disgorge money; and Muṭrif induced Mardáwíj to march on Ṭabaristán. Mákán, learning this, came to Āmul. Mardáwíj sent Násir by way of Láriján and Damáwand, but Mákán met him near Wálá-rúd and slew him and many of his followers. Mardáwíj retreated by way of Damáwand to Ray. At this period the sons of Buwayh had seized the provinces of Fárs and Kirmán, and Mardáwíj went to Isfahán to arrange his plans, but while there he was assassinated in the bath.¹

On the death of Maṛdáwíj, the army of Ray swore allegiance to his brother Washmgír b. Ziyár, who, having set in order the affairs of Ḥráq, sent Shíraj b. Laylá, Lashkari and Abu'l-Qásim to expel Mákán from Ṭabaristán. Mákán fled thence to Gurgán, on a Tuesday in Ramaḍán, A. H. 323 (= August, A. D. 935). Abú Bakr and Abu'l-Mudhaffar, who were both there, allied themselves with Abu'l-Qásim, and left him in possession of Gurgán when they had expelled Mákán (f. 138b). But in Ramaḍán, A. H. 324 (= July—August, A. D. 936) Abu'l-Qásim was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo, and buried at Sári. His army swore allegiance to Ibráhím b. Gúshyár. The Amír Abú Ṭálib Washmgír came from Ray to Āmul and thence to Sári, and Ibráhím b. Gúshyár came from Gurgán to meet him, but was dismissed from his command and degraded to his former rank. Washmgír then remained for some while at Sári, until Abú 'Alí Khalífa and Langarcha Pír were murdered at Āmul. In Muḥarram, A. H. 325 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 936) he sent to Níshápúr and brought back Mákán, to whom he gave Gurgán. The command of the army of Ṭabaristán he conferred on Abú Dá'úd and Isfáhí b. Ur-mazdyár, bidding them make war on Abú Músá b. Bahrám,

¹ See *J. R. A. S.* for 1901, pp. 687—8.

who had rebelled in Daylamán. Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, who was at Amul, was joined by Abú Dá'ud, and these, accompanied by Abú Ja'far Násir, went to attack Abú Músá, whom they defeated and expelled from that country. Daylamán, Jálus and the regions on that side of Amul were conferred by Abú Táhir Washmgír on Aḥmad b. Sálár, while Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Násir ruled at Amul, giving audience every Monday and Thursday, and holding religious discussions with the doctors of Islám every Wednesday. Abú Dá'ud was at Sári, which suffered greatly this year from floods, so that the people fled into the highlands. Abú Dá'ud summoned all the ministers and officials, and warned them that any exactiōn of which they might be guilty would be severely punished (f. 139a).

In Muḥarram, A. H. 328 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 939) Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámáníd sent Abú 'Alí b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mudhaffarí to Gurgán. Mákán appealed for help to Washmgír, who sent Isfáhí, with numerous levies from Gíl and Daylam. For seven months there was war in Gurgán, and at length Mákán and his allies were defeated, though reinforced by Shíraj b. Laylá. Finally, driven out of Gurgán by the army of Khurásán, Mákán fell back on Tabaristán and halted at Amul. At this juncture news arrived that Ḥasan the Buwayhid had come from Kirmán to Ray, seeking to conquer Iráq. Washmgír marched at the head of an army to a place two stages distance from Ray called Mushkú, where a battle was fought, and the army of Ḥasan the Buwayhid was defeated, and fell back on Isfahán. In this battle the chamberlain Ibn Shá'úshtí was slain, and Ḥasan the Buwayhid captured the Gílá-gúr, but Washmgír's men recovered him and brought him in his bonds to Washmgír, who set him free. Some days later, Washmgír came from Ray to Damáwand and summoned Mákán b. Kákí before him. He arrived on the 'Ashúrá

(Muḥarram 10) A. H. 329 (= October 15, A. D. 940), and was received with the utmost honour and sent to Sári. As he was returning thither from Damáwand, the commander-in-chief Abu 'Alí came to Dámghán, marching on Ḫiráq. Washmgír turned back from Ray to Wíma near Damáwand, and sent to Mákán to join him. Mákán, leaving his cousin Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán at Sári, went to Washmgír, and they met at Isháq-ábád. On Saturday, the 21st of Rabi' I, A. H. 329 (= December 24, A. D. 940) they drew up in battle-array against the commander-in-chief [of the Sámánids]. At the first attack of the Khurásánís (f. 1396) Washmgír fled; but Mákán stood firm, till, 1400 of his Gílí and Daylamite guards having been slain, twenty Turkish champions hurled themselves upon him, dragged him from his horse, and slew him. His head, with a number of notable Daylamites who had been taken prisoners, was sent to Bu-khárá¹. His *wazír*, the father of Ustád Ibnu'l-Āmíd Muḥammad Qumí, al-Husayn b. Muḥammad, known as *kala*, one of the finest scholars of the age, was also slain, and his head sent to Bukhárá. Thither also was sent his secretary, who, because of his accomplishments, was received with honour at the Sámánid court, where he remained for the rest of his days.

Washmgír, meanwhile, fled to Láriján, whence, ten days later, he came to Muṣallá of Āmul. There, on Wednesday, the 28th of Rabi' II, A. H. 329 (= December 31, A. D. 940) he received the news of Mákán's death. Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán, Mákán's cousin, and his clansmen agreed that Washmgír had purposely deserted their kinsman, and so rebelled against the latter, who sent Shíraj b. Laylá to fight them. He drove them out of Sári, and they fell back on Astarábád. Shíraj came to Āmul, and advanced on Astarábád,

¹ For the celebrated despatch written on this occasion by Iskáfi, see Anecdote III of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 28—30 of my translation.

while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán fled to Iráq and joined the Sámáníd commander-in-chief, whom he induced to invade Ṭabaristán. Washmgír then retired from Gurgán to Sári, where, at a place called Walajúy, a battle took place, wherein Washmgír stood firm; and even in the midst of it (f. 150a) news arrived of the death of Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the succession of his son Núḥ. Thereupon the Sámánid general made peace with Washmgír, and set out for Bukhárá, accompanied by Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, on the way thither, treacherously slew his chamberlain Mušawwiq, and, with the plunder which he had seized, returned to Gurgán, while the Sámánid general proceeded on his way to join Núḥ b. Naṣr the new sovereign. All this happened in the year A. H. 331 (= A. D. 942–943). Washmgír made Isfáhí governor of Ṭabaristán and himself went to Ray.

At the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 331 (beginning of June, A. D. 943) Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced from Isfahán by way of Qazwín, and Washmgír came forth from Ray to give him battle. Shír Mardí and Gúrigír deserted him and went over to his enemy, and Washmgír, filled with apprehension, was defeated, and fled to Muṣallá near Āmul. Ḥasan the Buwayhid seized Abú ‘Alí the scribe, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Umarí and Abú ‘Umar the *wasír*, and bade them disclose Washmgír's treasures. They indicated to him as the treasurer Abu'l-Ḥasan Mámtírí, who, under torture, gave up all his own wealth, but not a grain of his master's. On reaching Āmul, Washmgír sent Binán b. al-Ḥasan as an ambassador to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, however, imprisoned him in the castle of Jahína, and again came to Sári, where Washmgír then was. A battle ensued, and Muḥammad b. Dabírí and Isma'il b. Mardúchín deserted to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán's side. Thereupon Washmgír again fled to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín in the highlands, and, taking all his kinsmen and women-folk with him (f. 140b), made his way

to Bukhárá, where Núh b. Naṣr the Sámánid came out to meet him and received him with honour. Washmgír's lieutenant Isfáhí came to Āmul, whence, learning that Washmgír had fled, he moved to the castle of Kuhrúd. A riot ensued in Āmul, wherein many officers and myrmidons of the government were slain, and Ja'far b. Alanbán was hanged, and the people of Qum who were there were maltreated, till Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán came to Āmul and encamped at Sha'bú-Dasht, whence he went to Láriján and captured the castle and slew Isfáhí b. Akharyár, and seized all his property, and sent the spoils to his own castle in Daylamán.

Then Núh b. Naṣr the Sámánid sent Qarátakín at the head of 30,000 horsemen with Washmgír to Tabaristán. When he reached Gurgán, Ḥasan b. Fíruzán pretended that he was going to attack him, but suddenly slipped past him from Astarábád to Āmul, destroying the roads and bridges, by way of Mámtír and Tarícha. He was pursued by Washmgír to Sári, whence, by way of Āmul, he made good his escape to Daylamán. Washmgír advanced to Jálús, and Qarátakín demanded money of him, so that he was obliged to turn back to Āmul and give him a share of his possessions, besides presenting all the men of learning and position to him in the mosque, in order that they also might be laid under contribution. Meanwhile Ḥasan b. Fíruzán remained in his castle جین دارانچن کرد, and encamped his men at a place called Dúládár. Washmgír marched thither, while Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán encamped on the sea-shore beyond Darband. Washmgír put his horse into the sea and attacked them, and captured Abu'l-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan ash-Sha'rání, whom he at once beheaded. Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán then took refuge with Mázyár b. Justán, while Washmgír came to Āmul and there abode. [Ḥasan] b. Fíruzán then retired to Rúyán and took refuge with the Ustundár. Washmgír, learning this, suddenly attacked (f. 141a) them and dispersed their troops.

Hasan [b.] Fírúzán next fled to Láriján, whence, by way of Damáwand, he went to Astarábád and took up his abode in the castle of Kachín. Washmgír came from Amul to Gurgán, but no sooner had he arrived there than Hasan the Buwayhid came from Ray by Amul to Astarábád, where he was joined by Hasan [b.] Fírúzán. They then proceeded to Gurgán and fought and defeated Washmgír, who retired to Níshápúr. The Ispabhad Shahriyár came to Hasan the Buwayhid, who was now in possession of Ṭabaristán, where he left 'Alí b. Níkáma, and himself returned to 'Iráq and settled at Ray. The Ustundár brought forth Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir al-'Alawí (the grand-nephew of an-Násir al-Kabír) and established him at Jálús. The people collected round him. Hasan the Buwayhid, on hearing this, sent an army under Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibnu'l-'Amíd, to Amul to help 'Alí b. Níkama, but Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir deserted the Buwayhid force at Taman-jádiya, and came to Amul, where he established himself in the Sayyid's palace, while the Ustundár took up his abode at Kharmazar above Amul. After some time, these two quarrelled, and ath-Thá'ir al-'Alawí went to Gílán. Hasan the Buwayhid gave an army to Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, and sent him to Ṭabaristán. At this juncture Hasan the Buwayhid's mother died at Ray, and was buried with great pomp at Jálús near Amul, and all Ṭabaristán passed under the sway of Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, who discovered Abú Ja'far the brother of Mákán at Sári. Washmgír sent to Núḥ the Sámánid to ask his help, and received in response to his appeal several thousand troops, with whom he suddenly attacked Gurgán, and surprised and defeated Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, whose army joined Washmgír (f. 1416), while their late captain fled by night to the castle of Kachín. Washmgír then obtained control of the country.

At this date the Buwayhids had over-run the two 'Iráqs,

al-Ḥijáz and Syria, as is fully set forth by Abú Ishaq Ibráhím b. Hilál aş-Şábí in his *Kitábu't-Tájí fi áthári 'd-Dawlati 'd-Daylamíyya*, and had made Baghdad their capital. Hasan the Buwayhid, the father of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusráw, made his brother Mu'izzu'd-Dawla governor of Ray, while he himself held sway over 'Iráq. As soon as he heard of the return of Washmgír, he set out with a large army of Persians and Arabs to attack Ṭabaristán. Washmgír fled to Daylamán, but its people refused to shelter him for fear of the Buwayhids. Ruknu'd-Dawla Hasan the Buwayhid advanced as far as Jálús, and Washmgír took refuge with Abu 'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir, but for whose protection the Daylamites would have surrendered Washmgír to his foes. Ruknu 'd-Dawla the Buwayhid retired to Amul and remained there a month, till news of the death of his brother 'Alí reached him, whereupon he left Ṭabaristán and returned to 'Iráq. Thereupon Washmgír and ath-Thá'ir al-‘Alawí, accompanied by a host of Ghlís and Daylamís, came to Amul and appointed their own governors. Leaving the Sayyid at Amul, Washmgír himself marched to Gurgán. Shíraj b. Laylá, Wardánsháh and Abu'l-Hasan the brother of Násir conspired together and slew the chief supporters of ath-Thá'ir, while Muḥammad b. Wahrí, one of his chief intimates, joined them, so that the Sayyid was left alone, and fled by night to Daylamán, while the conspirators plundered and looted Amul (f. 142a).

When Ruknu'd-Dawla had concluded the mourning for his brother, he collected a large army, marched on Gur-gán, attacked Washmgír, and drove him by way of Nasá and Báward to Merv, which was then governed for Núh the Sámánid by Mansúr Qarátakín. Níshápúr had been seized by Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, who had revolted against Núh. Washmgír and Qarátakín made a combined attack on him, and he, unable to withstand them, retired

to Gurgán, where he joined Ruknu'd-Dawla's governor, Hasan [b.] Fírúzán. In Shawwál, A. H. 337 (= April, A. D. 949) Qarátakín and Washmgír entered Gurgán, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq fled to Ray and took refuge with Ruknu'd-Dawla. Qarátakín returned to Níshápúr and there died. Amír Núh thereupon appointed Abú 'Alí Muslim commander in chief in Khurásán, and sent him against Ruknu'd-Dawla. He reached Ray in A. H. 342 (= A. D. 353—4), besieged Ruknu'd-Dawla in the citadel, and finally made peace with him on the condition that he should pay to the Court of Bukhárá a yearly tribute of 200,000 *dínárs*. Thereupon Abú 'Alí Muslim retired, to the great vexation of Washmgír, who wrote to the Amír Núh saying that, if he had pressed his advantage, he might have taken Ruknu'd-Dawla captive. Amír Núh, incensed at this, dismissed Abú 'Alí Muslim from his office of commander in chief, and gave it to Abú Sa'íd Bakr b. Malik. Abú 'Alí Muslim, being informed of his dismissal, revolted against Amír Núh, omitted his name from the *khuṭba*, and seized Níshápúr. And about the same time, as it chanced, in A. H. 343 (= A. D. 954—5) Amír Núh died, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdu'l-Malik. Thus Abú 'Alí Muslim's power became greater, and he concluded (f. 142b) an offensive and defensive alliance with Ruknu'd-Dawla. They agreed to invade Ṭabaristán, the former by way of Shahriyár-Kúh, the latter by Hurmazd-Kúh; but soon after they had effected a junction, Abú 'Alí Muslim died, and his Khurásání soldiers dispersed, whereupon Ruknu'd-Dawla retired to Ray, and Washmgír remained unmolested, though enmity continued to exist between the two, until, when Mansúr b. Núh the Sámáníd came to the throne, he sent a large army under Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr to help Washmgír against the Buwayhid. Thereupon Ruknu'd-Dawla, being alarmed, sought for help from Baghdad and Fárs, from his brother

Mu'izzu'd-Dawla and from the sons of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla. In the year A. H. 356 (= A. D. 967) [Abu'l-Hasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr joined Washmgír outside Gurgán.

One day about this time Washmgír wished to go for a ride, but was advised by his astrologer not to do so. He waited till the afternoon prayer, at which time some horses were brought for him to see. Amongst these was a very fine black horse from Bukhárá. He ordered it to be saddled, mounted it, and rode forth a little way, when he remembered with vexation the astrologer's advice. Thereupon he turned back, when suddenly he was attacked by a wild boar, which gored his horse, while he fell to the ground with blood pouring from his nose, eyes and ears, and shortly afterwards expired. This was in Muḥarram, A. H. 357 (= December, A. D. 967).

Washmgír left two sons (f. 143a), Bahistún and Qábús, of whom the former was at this juncture in Ṭabaristán and the latter with his father. The nobles swore allegiance to Qábús, to whom [Abu'l-Hasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr also gave his support. Bahistún, greatly disappointed, thereupon made overtures to Ruknu'd-Dawla, and went to him at Ray, while his brother Qábús continued to strengthen his hold on Ṭabaristán and Gurgán, and to conciliate the nobles by gifts of lands and money. Amongst others he was joined by his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwín b. Shahriyár Báwand. And on Muḥarram 25, A. H. 366 (= November 28, A. D. 970) Ruknu'd-Dawla died.

'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shujá^c Fanákhusráw, the son of Ruknu'd-Dawla, was in Fárs with his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla. The mother of both of these was the daughter of Hasan [b.] Fíruzán, the cousin on the father's side of Mákán Kákí. Fakhru'd-Dawla, the third brother, was in Hamadán. Him the other two attacked, and he fled before them to Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús in Ṭabaristán, who received him

with honour. His two brothers (f. 143b) offered Qábús the revenues of Ray for a year if he would surrender Fakhru'd-Dawla to them, threatening him with war in case of refusal; and on his rejecting their proposals with scorn, 'Adudu'd-Dawla collected a great army of Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Daylamites and Turks, and sent them under the command of his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla to invade Tabaristán. They met and defeated Qábús at Astarábád, and he fled with Fakhru'd-Dawla, bearing with him his treasures, to Níshápúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Tásh, who was ordered by Amír Núh the Sámáníd to help him to recover his kingdom. Tásh thereupon marched on Gurgán, sending Fá'iq by way of Qúmish, and, aided by Qábús, besieged Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla in Gurgán for two months. In spite of the scarcity of provisions to which the garrison was reduced, Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, at the advice of the astrologer Abu'l-Fadl of Herát, waited till Mars, the planet fortunate to the Turks, had begun to decline. At this juncture news of the death of 'Adudu'd-Dawla reached him, and he secretly bribed Fá'iq and other captains of the besieging army to flee when battle should be joined, which happened on Wednesday, Ramadán 22, A. H. 371 (= March 21, A. D. 982). In consequence of the desertion of these faithless officers, Tásh and Qábús were defeated and compelled to retire to Níshápúr. At this time Fírúzán b. Hasan [b.] Fírúzán ruled over Daylamán, his brother Naṣr b. Hasan [b.] Fírúzán over Qúmish, and the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand over Tabaristán.

On the death of 'Adudu'd-Dawla (f. 144a) quarrels arose between his sons, and Fakhru'd-Dawla proceeded to 'Iráq, but shortly afterwards died at Ray. Qábús meanwhile returned to Gurgán, and, by gifts and promises, tried to conciliate the chiefs of that country. Núh b. Mansúr the Sámáníd died, and was succeeded by Amír Radí. Abú 'Alí b.

Hasan Símjúr rebelled against him, and Khurásán was plunged in confusion. Amír Radí fled to Ghazna, and appealed for help to Sabuktagín, who had succeeded Alptagín as ruler of that place. Sabuktagín collected an army and marched on Níshápúr against Abu 'Alí Símjúr and Fáiq, whom he met in battle at a place called Tafsúr. Qábús, though at heart sympathizing with the Sámánids, had been compelled to place his son Dárá as a hostage in the hands of Abú 'Alí. During the battle Dárá escaped and joined the Sámánid Amír Radí. Abú 'Alí was defeated, and Sultán Mahmúd b. Sabuktagín, to whose efforts the victory was largely due, was appointed by Amír Radí commander in chief of Khurásán, and given the title of Sayfu'd-Dawla, while his father, Sabuktagín, received Balkh as his reward, and withdrew to Herát. Amír Radí retired to Bukhárá, where he shortly afterwards died.

Sultán Mahmúd, now in secure possession of Khurásán, allied himself with Ilaq Khán, and the two came to Bukhárá, seized Amír Radí's son, Ibráhím al-Muntaşir, and put to death some other Sámánid princes. Muntaşir, however (f. 144^b), succeeded in effecting his escape to Níshápúr, and, being pursued thither by Mahmúd, fled to Gurgán, where he was well received and generously treated by Qábús, together with Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr and Arslán Bálú, who were with him. Qábús further advised them, having regard to the strength of Mahmúd and Ilaq Khán, to abandon for the present all hopes of recovering Khurásán, and rather to turn their attention to Ray, which was ruled by the boy-king Majdu'd-Dawla b. Fakhru'd-Dawla. Thither, accordingly, they marched, accompanied by the two sons of Qábús, Dárá and Minúchihr, but Abu'l-Qásim and Arslán Bálú, bribed by the nobles of Ray, induced them to retire without molesting the city. The sons of Qábús left them and returned to their father, while Muntaşir made another attempt to

recover Níshápúr, whence he was driven back by Sultán Mahmúd to Gurgán. This time, however, Qábús, seeing that Muntašir could effect nothing, sent 2000 men to oppose his entrance, and thenceforth (f. 145a)¹ concerned himself no further, with the fortunes of the House of Sámán. He sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín to subdue the district of Shahriyár, which was held by Rustam b. al-Marzubán, the maternal uncle of Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Tálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla, whom he defeated, and proclaimed Qábús ruler of that country.

Bátí b. Sa'íd^{at-Ustundáriya}, was dwelling amongst a section of the Jíl-i-Isfandári, but, though outwardly their ally, his heart was with Qábús. Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fíruzán, driven by famine from Daylam, attacked and defeated them, and took prisoner the Ispahbad Abu'l-Faḍl, who shortly afterwards died. Bátí fraternized with Naṣr, and the two agreed to attack Amul, whence they drove out the governor, Abu'l-Abbás the chamberlain. Having occupied Amul, Bátí wrote a letter to Qábús, informing him of the victory, and tendering his allegiance. Leaving Naṣr, he then proceeded to Astarábád and easily persuaded its inhabitants to accept the rule of Qábús, who sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár to support him (f. 145b). Fíruzán b. al-Ḥasan [b. Fíruzán], hearing of this, marched from Gurgán to attack them, and had almost succeeded in defeating Bátí outside Astarábád when a number of the Kurds and Arabs in his army suddenly raised the battle-cry of Qábús, and deserted to his enemy. In consequence of this Bátí not only put his army to flight, but captured him and a score of his chief officers. The fugitives were opposed and turned aside from Gurgán by the Sálár Khargásh, a

¹ [From the beginning of this page as far as l. 21 of p. 234 is entirely extracted from al-'Utbí's *Ta'ríkh al-Yamíni* (Delhi ed. of A. H. 1263, pp. ۱۰۸—۱۴۶ and ۲۰۱—۲۴۹; Buláq ed. of A. H. 1286, vol. I, pp. ۲۴۶ to end, and Vol. II, pp. ۱—۴۵ and ۴۷—۱۹۳) A. G. E.].

kinsman of Qábús; and the latter was soon afterwards crowned at Gurgán in Sha'bán, A. H. 388 (= August, A. D. 998).

The fugitives were received at Ray with reproaches, and the minister Abú 'Alí Hamúla¹ at once proceeded to collect an army of Turks, Arabs and Daylamites ten thousand strong, with which he set out for Gurgán, accompanied by Manúchihr² b. Qábús, Asfár b. Kurdúya, Abu'l-Abbás b. Já'³, Abdu'l-Malik Mákán, Músá Hájib, Bísitún b. Tíjásaf, Kinár b. Fírúzán, and Rashámúj, all leading men of Daylam. When they reached the district of Shahriyár, Qábús resolved to oppose them. Abú 'Alí Hamúla sent messengers to try to win over to his side Naṣr b. Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, of whose attitude he felt doubtful, urging him, out of regard for the bond of kinship between him and Majdu'd-Dawla (f. 146a), to espouse his cause, and promising to reward him with the district of Qúmish. Naṣr, deceived by these promises, came to Sári, and, taking the right hand one of the two roads to Gurgán, advanced to within a short distance of Qúmish. Here he made known to his soldiers the real reason why he had espoused the cause of Majdu'd-Dawla. Thereupon they differed in opinion, some being for Gurgán and others for Ustundár, while Naṣr, with the rem-

¹ For this correction of the reading "Hamawayh" (حَمَوْيَه) of the MS. I am indebted to Mr. Ellis, who has looked it up in the *Yamíni* (Delhi ed., p. ۲۹; Add. 7310 of the Museum, dated A. H. 696, f. ۱۱۲a, and Or. 1513, dated A. H. 767, f. ۱۰۸a). "In all these texts," he adds, "the full name of this personage appears as أبو على لِّيسن بن حَمْوَيْه. The same is the case in the Bodleian MS. of the *Mu'jamu'l-Udabá* of Yáqút. (Bodl. Or. 753, f. ۱۷a), as I am informed by Mr. Amedioz. The Delhi ed. of the *Yamíni* vocalizes the name as حَمْوَيْه, whilst the Buláq ed. (Vol. II, p. ۲) and Add. 7310, f. ۱۱۲a, agree with Ibn Isfandiyár in reading ابن حَمْوَيْه."

² Ibn Isfandiyár has "Mánsúr b. Qábús", but, as Mr. Ellis informs me, "Minúchihr" is the reading of all texts of the *Yamíni* (Delhi ed. p. ۲۹; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. ۲; Add. 7310, f. ۱۱۲a; Or. 1513, f. ۱۰۸a).

nant which clave to him, advanced to Qúmish, and requested Abú 'Alí Hamúla to put him in possession of the citadel. They assigned to him the castle of Júmand, where he placed his family and his baggage and stores.

Abú 'Alí Hamúla, leaving Naṣr b. Fíruzán at Qúmish, returned by Sári to Gurgán, where he encamped outside the city by the Mausoleum of the Dái. For two months fighting continued between him and the allies of Qábús, till famine prevailed in Gurgán, and food became hardly obtainable. Rain, floods and storms presently combined with dearth to render the position of the besiegers more and more difficult. Thereupon the soldiers of Qábús made a sortie, and a fierce fight ensued in which some 1300 men were slain. The Daylamites were defeated, and many of their chiefs, including Sipahsálár b. Kúrángij, Zarhawájastán b. Ashkálí, Haydar b. Sálár, and Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán were taken captive, while Abú 'Alí Hamúla retreated to Qúmish, where he urgently summoned Nasr b. al-Hasan [b.] Fíruzán to assist him. Fearing the advance of Qábús, however, he dared not remain in Qúmish, but retreated to Ray, while Naṣr marched to Samnán. Here he halted and demanded re-inforcements from Majdu'd-Dawla, who sent (f. 147a) the son of his chamberlain Báktaķín with six hundred Turkish horsemen. Qábús, on the other hand, despatched Bátí b. Sa'íd, and subsequently the Ispahbad Shahriyár, against the Daylamites. Bátí, however, suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Naṣr, and his army was annihilated.

Majdu'd-Dawla, greatly encouraged by this victory, sent his maternal uncle, Rustam b. al-Marzubán, with 3000 men to re-inforce Abú 'Alí Hamúla, appointing him Ispahbad of Shahriyár. Naṣr came out to meet Rustam as far as Damáwand, and helped him to take effective possession of the district assigned to him. The Ispahbad Shahriyár fell back on Sári to seek aid from Prince Minúchihr, the son of

Qábús, and watched his opportunity, until, Rustam having been separated from Nasr, he attacked him and drove him out of the country back to Ray, and established himself in his place.

After this Majdu'd-Dawla made peace with Qábús, and the two agreed to make an end of Nasr b. Hasan [b.] Firúzán, who, notwithstanding his ancient and noble lineage, was generally hated for his exactions and oppressions (f. 147b). Nasr discovered their intention, and, hearing that Sultán Mahmúd's governor of Quhistán, Arslán Hindú-bacha, had attacked and driven back Abu'l-Qásim [b.] Símjúr, he went to the latter, and, eager to avenge himself on Majdu'd-Dawla, persuaded him to attack Ray. He was, however, easily repulsed; and, while retiring in disappointment, was attacked and routed by the troops of Qábús, whereupon he and his confederate Abu'l-Qásim offered their services to Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazna. Abu'l-Qásim, for reasons set forth in al-'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i-Yamini*, was soon compelled (f. 148a) to flee from the Sultán's court, but Nasr remained in the Sultán's service, and was finally given in fief Biyár and Júmand. These, however, did not satisfy him, and he suffered himself to be beguiled by specious promises to Ray, where he was put in chains and sent as a prisoner to the castle of Ustúnáwand, while Qábús subdued all the surrounding strongholds, and bestowed them on his chief officers and nobles.

About this time the Ispahbad Shahriyár, having collected a large army, began to shew signs of restiveness, and Rustam b. Marzubán was sent against him from Ray, followed by Bisitún b. Tíjásf, who defeated and took him prisoner. Rustam, being a partisan of Qábús and ill-disposed towards the ruler of Ray, proclaimed Qábús king, with the acquiescence and approval of Bisitún. Qábús conferred Gilán on his son Minúchihr, and shortly afterwards reduced the dis-

tricts of Ustundáriyya, Rúyán and Jálús, so that his dominions now included, besides these regions, Gurgán, Tabaristán and Daylam to the shores of the Caspian Sea (f. 148b). He also entered into friendly relations with Sultán Mahmúd.

For all his noble qualities, his learning, piety, munificence, magnanimity, wisdom, prudence and intelligence, Qábús was, however, arrogant, harsh, and sometimes cruel. No one was secure against his occasional acts of violence, and many men of condition suffered death at his hands, so that a growing discontent became apparent. Now he had a chamberlain called Na'im, a simple and guiltless man, whom he had made governor of Astarábád; and him, on the mere suspicion of his inclining to the Mu'tazilite heresy, he condemned to death. Na'im craved a respite, that he might establish his innocence (p. 149a), but his request was refused, and he was put to death by Qábús. This so exasperated the nobles and officers that they determined to depose Qábús, who had gone for change of air to Janáshk, and knew nothing of their disaffection until one night they surrounded and attacked his camp and plundered his baggage, but were driven off by his retainers. They then went to Gurgán, seized the city, and brought thither Prince Minúchihr, the son of Qábús, from Tabaristán, threatening him that, unless he would consent to depose his father and accept the crown at their hands, they would find another ruler and cast off their allegiance to his house. Minúchihr, being unable to oppose them, deemed it best to agree to their demands.

Meanwhile Qábús, with his retainers and baggage, came to Bistám, there to await the upshot of the affair (f. 149b), and his son Minúchihr was compelled by the rebels to march against him. Qábús summoned Minúchihr into his presence, which he entered with every mark of respect and with tears in his eyes. After bewailing the untoward events

which had forced him in appearance to oppose his father, Minúchihr offered, if Qábús wished it, openly to espouse his cause; but the latter, recognizing the hopelessness of his own position, gave Minúchihr his blessing and handed over to him his signet-ring and the keys of his treasuries, and retired to Janáshk, there to end his days in prayer and pious exercises. The rebels, however, could feel no security as long as Qábús was alive, and soon found on opportunity to put him to death secretly (f. 150a)¹. He was buried beneath a dome outside Gurgán on the road to Khurásán.

After mourning for three days, according to the fashion of the Daylamites, Minúchihr ascended the throne and assumed the reins of government, while Qábús was soon forgotten:

كَانَ لَمْ يَكُنْ بَيْنَ الْهُجُونِ إِلَّى الصَّفَا أَبْيَسْ وَلَمْ يَسْمُرْ بِمَكَّةَ سَاهِرْ

Letters of condolence from the Caliph al-Qádir Bi'lláh, conferring on him the title of Falaku'l-Ma'álí, soon reached Minúchihr, who made it his first business to conciliate, with presents and professions of loyalty, the powerful Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who recognized his sovereignty in Gurgán, Tabaristán and Qúmish, and sent Abú Muḥammad b. Mihrán as an ambassador to confer on him a robe of honour and other marks of his favour, while he on his part agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 50,000 *dínárs*, and, on the occasion of the campaign against Nárdín, supplied a contingent of a thousand picked soldiers of Daylam (f. 150b). Later Minúchihr sent Abú Sa'íd Sawák, the greatest noble of Gurgán, to Sultán Maḥmúd to pray that he would bestow on him, for the confirming of the alliance, the hand of one of his daughters. To this request a favourable answer was brought back by the ambassador, who was then

¹ See Dawlatsháh, pp. 48-49 of my edition.

sent to Ghazna a second time accompanied by the Qádí of Gurgán to drew up the marriage-contract and bring back the bride (f. 151a).

Having thus secured his position, Minúchihr prepared to take vengeance on his father's murderers, which he had hitherto feared to do, and did not rest until he had put most of them to death, save the son of Khargásh, who fled into exile, and none knows what fate overtook him. Abu'l-Qásim Ja'dí, who had been in command of the army of Qábús, long evaded capture, and finally (f. 151b) took refuge with the Sultán at Níshápúr, who, however, handed him over to Minúchihr, from whom he met with his deserts.

To return now to Minúchihr's brother Dárá, who, as we saw (p. 227 *supra*), escaped from the custody of Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr and joined the Sámáníd Amír Radí. When his father Qábús had established his rule, Dárá continued for a time in his service, but presently, his fears and suspicious being aroused, he again fled secretly into Khurásán, where he was at first well received (f. 152a) by the Sultán, but presently, falling under suspicion, he escaped to Sháh Shár of Ghars, between whom and himself an ancient friendship existed, but who dared not persist in refusing his surrender to the Sultán. He was imprisoned by the Sultán for some time — more rigorously after he had once succeeded in escaping —, but was finally received back into favour, and sent with Arslán Jádhib¹ to assume the government of Tabaristán and Gurgán, whence, however, owing to the wisdom of his brother Minúchihr in conciliating Sultán Mahmúd, he was speedily recalled, and attached to the Sultán's personal service. At this juncture (f. 152b) Amír Abu'l-Fawáris,

¹ The India Office MS. (A) has "Hárib", but the British Museum MS. Add. 7633 (B.), f. 182b, "Jádhib", which is, as Mr. Ellis points out, certainly correct, as it is confirmed by all texts of the *Yamíní* (Delhi ed., p. 134^b, Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. 19; Add. 7310, f. 177a; OI. 1513, f. 170a).

son of 'Adudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, came from Kirmán to the Sultán to complain of the wrongs which he had suffered at his brother's hands, and a dispute occurred between him and Dárá as to the nobility and antiquity of their respective families in the course of which the latter made use of expressions so insulting and improper that he was again disgraced and imprisoned till Muḥarram, A. H. 409 (= May-June, A. D. 1018), when, at the intercession of the Prime Minister, he was released, and his estates were restored to his stewards.

In A. H. 424 (= A. D. 1033) Minúchihr died, and was succeeded by his son [Abú] Kálanjár, who was the contemporary of Sultán Ma'súd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In A. H. 425 (= A. D. 1033—4) the latter, in spite of the urgent dissuasion of his ministers and nobles, decided to visit the former in Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. Abú Kalanjár answered (f. 153^a), "I am thy servant: the king does but visit his own house;" but he retired to one of his castles, and even ventured a remonstrance at the exactions and irregularities committed by Mas'úd's troops. Finally, as summer advanced and the weather grew warm, Mas'úd retired to Gurgán, where, on the very day of his arrival, he learned that two thousand Seljúq Turkmáns had reached Merv, and had been joined by two of the sons of Seljúq, Yaghmur and Búqá. This was the first revolt of the Seljúqs, and their power continued to increase until Jaghrí¹ Beg Dá'úd seized Khwárazm, and thence marched to Ṭabaristán and Ray, occupying and annexing most of the realms of the House of Washmgír (or Ziyárids) except the mountains. And in A. H. 441 (= A. D. 1049—1050) Abú Kálanjár died².

¹ Add. 7633, f. 183^b, has جَغْرِيْكَ, "Jaghar Beg", but on the authority of ar-Ráwandi's *History of the Seljúqs* (N°. 1314 *Suppl. Persan* of the Bibliothèque Nationale; f. 37^b), transcribed in A. H. 635, I prefer this form. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 585.

² Ibnu'l-Athír places his death in A. H. 440.

He was succeeded by his cousin Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandár b. Qábús, chiefly celebrated as the author of the *Qábús-náma*¹, who was contemporary with Rustam b. Shahriyár, and ruled in the mountain districts until A. H. 462 (= A. D. 1069—1070), when he died, and was succeeded by his son [Gílánsháh], to whom there remained but a shadow of power. For Tughril the Seljúq had traversed Tabaristán and Gílán, levying taxes and appointing governors (f. 153b), and thence had passed on to Ray [and Baghdad], restored the authority of the Caliph al-Qá'im bi-amrilláh and put down the agents of the Fátimid Anti-Caliph al-Mustansír, and in return for all his services received the title of Sultán. Gílánshál died, and was succeeded by his cousin Anúshirwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, in A. H. 471 (= A. D. 1078—9)².

[Here follows some account of Alp Arslán's conquests, and in particular of a wonderful march which he made with 100,000 men from Balásághún to the Euphrates to relieve the Caliph al-Qá'im, who was hard pressed by the Byzantines. This march he is said to have accomplished in sixteen days. The author now turns back to trace the history of the Ispahbads of the House of Báw from the earliest times down to the period which he has now reached.]

(F. 154a). To the Ispahbads of this ancient and noble house was given the title "King of the Mountains" (*Maliku'l-Jibál*). Their ancestor Báw was a vassal of Khusraw Parwíz, whom he aided in his wars with the "Romans" and

¹ An excellent edition of this interesting book of counsels was lithographed at Tíhrán in A. H. 1285.

² The chronology here seems very confused, this same date being given for the death of Tughril, who really died in A. H. 455 (A. D. 1063). A little further on, however, the date of Alp Arslán's death is correctly given as A. H. 465 (A. D. 1072), but on f. 158a the same erroneous date is repeated.

with his rebellious subject Bahrám Chúbína, and for whom he successively governed İştakhr, Adharbayján, 'Iráq and Tabaristán. Over the latter province he maintained his sway for 15 years after the Arabs had overrun the rest of Persia, but was at last treacherously slain by Walásh, who struck him from behind with a brick, and usurped his authority, driving his son Suhráb into exile. The latter, however, aided by the men of Kúlá, Khúrzád, Khusraw-isfáhí and Qárin-kúh, attacked Walásh at Panjáh-hazár and slew him, and was crowned at Farím. From that time until the death of Fakhru'd-Dawla, though they were partially subdued at different times by the 'Alawí Sayyids, the House of Gáwbára, the Qárinwands, the Buwayhids and the Ziyárids, no king or ruler was able to destroy or extirpate them, or (f. 154^b) to take undivided possession of their domains.

Suhráb was succeeded by his son Mihr-mardán, and he, after a brief reign, by his grandson Sharwín b. Surkháb, who was the contemporary of Wandád-Hurmazd, and first took the title of "King of the Mountains". He and Wandád-Hurmazd united to drive the Arabs out of Tabaristán. The sons of these two, Shahriyár b. Sharwín and Qárin b. Wandád-Hurmazd were contemporaries of Hárúnú'r-Rashíd, to whom the former had been given as a hostage by his father.

Shahriyár was followed successively by his two sons Ja'far and Qárin. The latter, in the Caliphate of al-Mu'tasim, in the year A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2) abandoned the Zoroastrian religion and embraced Islám. He was the contemporary of the Dá'i'l-Kabír, who sent the Ustundár Padhúsán to ravage his lands until he submitted to the Sayyid, and committed to him his sons Mázyár and Surkháb in the year A. H. 252 (= A. D. 866). The latter died young, and was succeeded by his son Rustam. When the

Dá'í, who was still reigning, punished the Daylamites for their disobedience by cutting off the hands and feet of about a thousand of them, the remainder of them fled to this Rustam, who led them to Qúmish, captured it, and banished the Dá'í's viceroy, Sayyid Qásim, to Sháh Dizh in Hazár Jaríb.

Rustam, being on bad terms with the Sayyid Muḥammád b. Zayd (f. 155a) joined Ráfi' b. Harthama, the governor of Khurásán, and with him ravaged Mázandarán, Daylam and Rúyán. After a while Ráfi' returned to Khurásán, and, being routed by 'Amr b. Layth, fled to Gurgán and made peace with the Sayyid, but sent a message to Rustam informing him that this truce was only a stratagem, and inviting him to meet him at Astarábád. On his arrival, however, Rustam was treacherously seized by Ráfi' as he sat at meat, and was cast into prison, where he died in Ramadán, A. H. 282 (== October—November, A. D. 895).

He was succeeded by his son Sharwín, who made peace with Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, and was contemporary with Mákán b. Kákí. Sharwín was in turn succeeded by his son Shahriyár, who was contemporary with Ruknu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid and Washmgír b. Ziyár. His son, who predeceased him, bore the name of his grandfather, Sharwín. Shahriyár survived till the time of Qábús b. Washmgír and Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

[Here the author cites from the *Chahár Maqála* the account of Firdawsí, and how he took refuge from Sultán Maḥmúd with this prince, given in that work by Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí-i-Samarqandí; which account has been published with a German translation by Dr. Ethé at pp. 89—94 of the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, Vol. XLVIII, and criticised by Nöldeke in his *Iranische Nationalepos*, pp. 21—30 of the *tirage-à-part*. A full English translation of this passage, which extends from f. 155a, l. 17 to f. 157b, l. 12, will be found

at pp. 77—84 of my translation of the *Chahár Maqdála*, so that it may be passed over in this place.]

(F. 157b). The Ispahbad Shahriyár was succeeded by Dárá, who reigned but a short time, and was followed by his son Shahriyár, who accompanied Qábús b. Washmgír in his 18 years' exile, conquered Shahriyár-kúh and expelled its governor Rustam b. Marzubán, and, assisted by Bátí b. Sa'íd, in A. H. 387 (= A. D. 997) defeated Fíruzán b. al-Hasan, and afterwards Naṣr b. Hasan.¹ But towards the end of the reign of Qábús (f. 158a) Shahriyár rebelled against him, and, being defeated by Rustam b. Marzubán, was imprisoned till his death. After this none of the House of Báwand dared shew themselves or claim any power, until, when the Seljúqs conquered Khurásán, and the power of the House of Washmgír was destroyed, the Ispahbad Hu-sámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin restored in some degree the power and fortunes of his house.

[The author now returns to the history of the Seljúqs at the point where he left it to recount the history of the Báwands, namely the death of Tughril and the accession of Alp Arslán. Most of what follows belongs to the general history of Persia from this to the Author's own time (first half of the thirteenth century of our era), while another hand has carried on the chronicle to A. H. 750 = A. D. 1349—1350.]²

(F. 158b). During the reign of Alp Arslán, Tabaristán suffered much from the constant passage of his troops, but the Ispahbad Qárin b. Surkháb of the House of Báwand succeeded in re-establishing his power to some extent in the mountains, while the power of the House of Washmgír continually grew less. Qárin died in A. H. 486 (= A. D.

¹ See above, pp. 228—231.

"This continuation," observes Mr. Ellis, "is absent from Add. 7633, f. 188b."

1093), and was succeeded by Ḫusámu'd-Dawla. About this time began the power of the Assassins. The 'New Propaganda', begun by Ḥasan-i-Şabbáh in Ray, was soon extended to Dámghán, Shahriyár-kúh, Damáwand and Qazwín, till finally the mountain fastness of Alamút, "the Eagle's Nest", was surrendered to them by its warden, 'Alawí Mahdí, on Wednesday, Rajab 6, A. H. 483 (= September 4, A. D. 1090), a date which, by a most curious coincidence, is represented by the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing its name¹. 'Alawí Mahdí received from Ḥasan-i-Şabbáh an order for 3000 *dinárs* on the governor of Gird-i-Kúh and Dámghán, Ra'is Mudhaffar, who, though ostensibly subordinate to Amír Dád Ḥabash b. Altúntásh, had secretly accepted the doctrine of, and sworn allegiance to, Ḥasan-i-Şabbáh. It was a great surprise to Mahdí when, on his presenting this order, it was at once honoured. The growing power (f. 1596) of Ḥasan-i-Şabbáh aroused the alarm of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, who, however, was assassinated on the eve of Friday, Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 485 (= October 16, A. D. 1092) at Sihna near Naháwand by one of Ḥasan-i-Şabbáh's *fiddís* named Táhir-i-Arrání, who had disguised himself as a Súfi.

Very shortly after this, Maliksháh (f. 160a) died, and the civil war which broke out between his sons Muḥammad and Barkiyáruq permitted the Assassins to strengthen their position unmolested. On the death of Barkiyáruq, Muḥammad sent his brother Sanjar to attack them in Khurásán. He began by capturing a stronghold named Qal'a-i-Atash-Kúh

¹ This coincidence is remarked in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* and many other histories. The name of the castle must, however, to yield the correct sum, be written in its full form آمُوت آمُوت, Áluh-ámút. I believe that Ibnu'l-Athír's explanation of the name as meaning "the Eagle's Teaching" is correct, for *áluh* occurs in Pahlawí meaning an eagle, and *ámút* certainly stands for *ámúkht* ("taught").

("the Castle of the Mountain of Fire")¹ which they had seized at the very gates of Isfahán, and putting several thousand of them to death there. He also ordered the Ispahbad Ḫusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin to co-operate with him in extirpating the Assassins, under pain of dismissal, but he, displeased at the peremptory and minatory tone of the message, refused to do so. Thereupon² the Seljúq monarch sent 5000 horsemen under the command of Amír Sunqur of Bukhárá to Mázandarán, ordering his governors in Láriján, Rúyán and Amul to join him and assist him. At Amul, accordingly, he was met by a number of local magnates (f. 160b), who proposed to accompany him by the sea-shore to Sári. The Ispahbad Ḫusámu'd-Dawla, being informed of this, collected to himself Amír Mahdí of Lafúr, one of the Qárinwands, and all the *amírs* and notables of Shahriyár Kúh, at a place called Aram, and together they marched on Sári, of which they proceeded to repair the fortifications. Sunqur encamped at a place called Atrábin. The Ispahbad promised his black Persian *kuláh*, round which he had wound a turban, to whichever of his sons would attack and rout the enemy. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin at once alighted from his horse, took a Gílí shield, opened the gate and went out, followed by his son, Fakhru'l-Mulk Rustam. Ḫusámu'd-Dawla had with him four hundred Gílís, all with shields and white plumes (*parcham*), and these he drew up in ranks before Sunqur's army. Then Farámarz b. Shírzád came forth with his horsemen.

Now Husámu'd-Dawla had induced an Amír named Bekcherí to desert Sunqur as soon as battle was joined; this he did, and was received with honour and sent to the Is-

¹ See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, pp. 606—609. The castle in question is generally named Dízkúh or Sháh-Dízh. It fell on Sha'bán 6, A. H. 500 (= April 2, A. D. 1107).

² ["In A. H. 500 (= A. D. 1106—7)": so Add. 7633, f. 191a. A. G. E.]

pahbad's palace. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin then attacked Sunqur; the noise of battle scared all the water-fowl in the surrounding marshes (f. 161a) and they rose into the air with tumultuous cries, so that Sunqur thought that he was being attacked by another force in the rear. His army gave way, and fled, pursued by Najmu'd-Dawla, who killed and took captive many of them, especially the foot-soldiers of Amul. The people of Sári blackened the faces of the captive Amulis, branded on their foreheads the names of Muham-mad and 'Alí, and paraded them through the town, after which they were released. Then the Ispahbad divided the abundant spoils which had fallen to their lot, and dismissed the *marzubáns* and other local chiefs who had helped him with presents and robes of honour.

Sunqur meanwhile fell back on Gurgán, and thence returned to Isfahán, where he told the Sultán that by force they could effect nothing in that wild country, but only by political stratagems. So the Sultán sent another embassy to the Ispahbad, telling him that Sunqur had exceeded his orders in making this attack, and asking him to send one of his sons to the court at Isfahán. To this proposal the Ispahbad finally consented, on receiving the Sultán's solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that the son thus sent should be treated with all honour; and, summoning his sons before him, communicated to them the Sultán's proposal, and asked which of them would go. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin, having taken part in the attack on Sunqur, dared not venture, but his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Ali b. (f. 161b) Shahriyár volunteered to go, and was accordingly sent off to Isfahán with a pious Sayyid named Muntahí as his tutor, and an escort of a thousand horse and two thousand foot. His father accompanied him from Sári as far as Farím, and sent him on his journey by way of Asrán and Samnán.

At this time the castle of Ustúnáwand was in the hands of the Assassins, and also the castle of Mansúr-kúh. Some of the garrison of the latter had come to Dámghán, and the Amír Qachghuz attacked them and slew many. Then he joined 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí, and, being under obligations to his father Husámu'd-Dawla the Ispahbad, took charge of him and brought him to Isfahán, where he was most graciously received by the Sultán, who was still more favourably impressed when he saw the young Prince's prowess in polo, hunting, and throwing the mace, which he could throw as far as the Sultán could shoot an arrow. The Sultán then offered him the hand of his sister in marriage, but he, fearing the jealousy of Najmu'd-Dawla, suggested that this honour should rather be accorded to his elder brother. The Sultán approved this suggestion; the marriage contract was drawn up, and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla was sent back to Tabaristán with presents and robes of honour to convey the news. At Amul he was magnificently received by all the notables, and there he tarried ten days, when he was joined by the chief men of Shahriyár-kúh, who accompanied him to Sári. His father, after congratulating him on his success, sent him to his brother Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin, who, however, refused to receive him, and, being rebuked by their father the Ispahbad, sought permission to go to Baghdad, which he was suffered to do.

On reaching Baghdad, Najmu'd-Dawla, who was a brave and skilful horseman, perfect in all knightly accomplishments, was met by the Sultán, who soon afterwards took him with himself to Isfahán, where he married him to his sister. Then he set out to return to Tabaristán, on hearing which his younger brother 'Alá'u'd-Dawla craved permission from their father the Ispahbad to retire into seclusion, for he feared his brother (f. 162b). Husámu'd-Dawla met his son Najmu'd-Dawla at Farím towards Sam-

nán, and gave him the castle of Kúzá. This vexed 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, since it had been given to him, and, though his father sent Amír Mahdí of Lafúr to Zárim, where he was, to pacify him, he retired in anger to Gulpáyagán, and took up his abode in a village called Mírwand-ábád, which was his mother's property. Najmu'd-Dawla came to Sári, and, charging his father with being privy to his brother's withdrawal, threatened him, ill-used his servants, and desired to claim for himself the symbols of authority; and his father, being then 75 years of age, finally gave way to his violent and unfilial conduct, abdicated, and retired to Amul. Thither Najmu'd-Dawla, fearful of what men might say of him, followed him, offered profuse apologies, and brought him back to Sári; but, as his conduct did not greatly amend, Husámu'd-Dawla again withdrew to Húsam into religious seclusion. "I have heard from my father," says the author, "that when he reached Amul, he passed by the gate of a Mosque where was a school for children, and said (f. 163a), 'O my children, when you grow up, say, 'Shahriyár, abandoning his throne, fled to Daylamán from the hands of his own son Qárin.'" All the people of Gíl and Daylam rallied round him at Húsam, but he, wearied of sovereignty, occupied himself in building, farming and religious exercises. After a while he fell ill, and his son Najmu'd-Dawla, again repenting of his harshness, sent several notables to Amul to bring his father thither. There he met him, fell at his feet and apologized for his conduct, and brought him with him to Sári, leaving the care of the estates of Húsam to an old servant called Amír Hasan.

The Sultán, Muhammad b. Maliksháh, had a young son named Malik Ahmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an Amír named Sunqur-i-Kúchak, and sent to Ray, making him governor of that town, together with Áwa, Sáwa, Arrán, Khwár, Samnán, Rúyán, Láriján, Ṭabaristán and Gurgán.

But every agent sent by Sunqur-i-Kúchak to Amul was expelled by Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin. This continued for some time, till at last Sunqur sent to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí, Najmu'd-Dawla's brother, offering to appoint him governor of Amul and Tabaristán, if he would come to Malik Ahmad. So 'Alá'u'd-Dawla (f. 163b) came to Ray, where he was well received, and sent with Sunqur's brother Jáwalí an army to Amul. There the notables came out to meet him, with Amír Hassán Bahá'u'd-Dawla the governor of the town, and installed him in the palace called Kúshk-i-Jáwalí, which in the author's time was razed to the ground by Sháh Ardashír. Husámu'd-Dawla, on hearing this, came with the army of Shahriyár-kúh to Lák-Abandán, and made an agreement with Jáwalí, whom he sent with Sháh Ghází Rustam to Aram, where he was entertained for a week, and then sent back to 'Iráq.

About this time a quarrel arose between the Ispahbad and the Assassins, because they had killed a certain Abú Ja'far Báwandí. One day the Ispahbad Sháh Ghází Rustam was passing through the quarter of the Mosque of Zanakú when an Assassin sprang out on him and tried to stab him, but failed and was slain by the clubs of the companions of his intended victim. To his father Sháh Ghází made light of this event, but a little later, while on his way from Sárf to Amul, two Assassins attacked him while he was out hunting in the plain of Walákán, at a moment when he had alighted to drink water, and inflicted a deep gash in his side. One of these Assassins was killed by Husayn Shírzíl; the other drew his knife (f. 164a), rushed amongst the Ispahbad's servants, and wounded several of them ere he was himself slain. Sháh Ghází recovered from his wound, which, though deep, had not involved the intestines. His father the Ispahbad came to Amul on hearing the news, and wept bitterly over his son's misfortune.

About this time Sultán Sanjar commanded the Ispahbad to wait on him, but he apologized on the ground of his age, and offered to send his sons. Sanjar was angry at this, and sent his nephew Sultán Mas'úd with an army to Astarábád to take Shahriyár-Kúh from the Ispahbad, who, however, defeated him near Tammísha and slew many of his men. He was joined by Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dá'í ila'l-Haqq [b. al-] Hádí with 5000 Daylamites, and soon afterwards by his son Sháh-i-Ghází, who had recovered from his wound (f. 164*b*); and with their aid inflicted a second still more severe defeat on Mas'úd, who, having lost half his army, together with the Amír Jálwálí, fled to Gurgán. This happened in A. H. 521 (= A. D. 1127).

Sanjar, infuriated at this reverse, invited one of his *amírs* to volunteer to avenge it. Bazghash offered his services, which were accepted, and came to Dámghán, whence he sent harsh messages to the Ispahbad, who was at the castle of Kúzá, and who received his threats with derision. It was then Ramadán, but, as soon as the fast and ensuing festival were over, he moved to Tammísha, while Bazghash came to Astarábád and besieged the castle of Rúhín. The Ispahbad left his son Táju'l-Mulük Mardáwíj in Tammísha, and came to Sári. Mardáwíj remained for eight months (f. 165*a*) in Tammísha, so that Bazghash could not move, while Qárin b. Garshásf continued to defend the castle of Rúhín successfully. Then news arrived that Qarája the cup-bearer had gone to Baghdad with the army of 'Iráq and was acting as Atábek, or guardian, to Seljúqsháh, and that Mas'úd also had gone to them from Gurgán; and Bazghash, being recalled by the Sultán, was compelled to retire.

The Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús and Fakhrú'd-Dawla Garshásf agreed together to rebel against the Ispahbad. When each had returned to his own country, the latter first revolted at Gulpáyagán, and ravaged the district of Astarábád. The

Ispahbad retaliated by attacking Gulpáyagán, plundering and burning the neighbourhood, and killing several of Fakhru'd-Dawla's men. Meanwhile the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús took advantage of the Ispahbad's absence to attack Amul, burn the Ispahbad's palace of Baqrá-Kaláta, and expel his retainers from the town. Fakhru'd-Dawla meanwhile, being driven out of Gulpáyagán, retired to the castle of Jahína. The Ispahbad despatched his son 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Hasan to attack Kay-Ká'ús, who, however, set an ambush for him and defeated him, so that he fled, and, by the help of one Dárgíl, crossed over by boat into Gílán and betook himself to the house of Sultán-Sháh-i-Gíl. After a while he desired to return to his father the Ispahbad, who, however, being vexed at his defeat, refused to receive him, and ordered that he should retire to Karkam, and that certain of his officers, Amír 'Alí Sábiqú'd-Dawla, Mudhaffar-i-'Alawí (f. 165^b), Majdu'd-Dín Dárá and Abú Háshím-i-'Alawí, should for a period of one year not ride on horseback, and should each retire to a different place, which in each case he specified. But Amír 'Alí Sábiqú'd-Dawla propitiated the Ispahbad with a gift of a thousand sheep, though he was still kept out of his fief-holds for a year. Shortly afterwards the Ispahbad succeeded in surprising and putting to flight the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús, and plundering his palace.

One of the Ispahbad's vassals named Minúchihr had embellished his estate of Kuhrúd with all sorts of rare merchandise from India, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He had several daughters and eighteen sons, of whom the eldest, Abú Harb, was violent, undutiful, shameless, and without fear of God. One day he fled from his father, who sent soldiers in pursuit of him. He had reached the dyke called Dar-band-i-Shínúh when they came up with him, and he, to escape, leaped his horse into the river Hurmuz, which there runs like a mill-race. The soldiers, supposing him to have

perished, returned, but he reached the shore and made his way to Amul, where he was furnished with clothes (f. 166a), and sent to the court of the Ispahbad, who treated him with kindness and sent him back to his father.

His father, meanwhile, had disinherited him in favour of a younger brother, which so infuriated him that one night in Ramadán he invited his brothers to a banquet, and caused each one to be murdered as he was leaving the house. Then he came to his father, and, taking him unawares, smote him on the head with a mace and slew him (f. 166b), while his followers cut down one or two servants who offered resistance. He then announced to the people that he had done this deed by order of the king of Mázandarán, and sent a message to the Ispahbad, saying what he had done, and promising to appear before him if summoned. So the Ispahbad, who was just setting out for Amul from Kajúr, bade him come, and Abú Ḥarb joined him with 300 soldiers, horse and foot. The combined armies marched by way of Daylamán, Kalár, and Gúrshírad to Kajú, which they set on fire. Near this place they were met by the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús, and a fierce fight ensued, in which 900 of the Ustundár's men were killed and 400 taken prisoners, though he himself escaped with a few retainers. The Ispahbad (f. 167a) than returned to Amul, where he bound the 400 unfortunate captives to the staircase of the Palace which Kay-Ká'ús had burned, wrapped it in reeds and matting, and burned them all. The Ispahbad then set out for Daylamán, but when he reached Banafsha-gún, Kay-Ká'ús came before him with a sword and a winding-sheet to make his submission. He was ordered to collect his army and join the Ispahbad at Amul to help him in dislodging Garshásf from his castle of Juhína. There he received, at the Ispahbad's command, 1000 gold *dínárs* of Amul from the *marzubán* of that city, whose exactions had,

as he declared, driven him into rebellion, and a remission of certain sums of money for which he was responsible....

(F. 167b). The Ispahbad^{*} Sháh Ghází Rustam was now sixty years old. On the first of Farwardín, the Persian Nawrúz, he reviewed his army at Sári, in the *maydán* of Atrábin, Sábiq of Qazwín being on one side of him, and on the other Abú Ḥarb of Láriján. He bade them bring him a polo-stick and ball, and struck the ball, saying, "O sixtieth year, I know not whether thou art come for sickness or death!" Then he threw down the polo-stick and dismissed his army, and on that very day he fell sick. He retired to the village of Zínwán, distant one parasang from Sári, and there died on the 17th of Farwardín, A. H. 558 (April, A. D. 1163), leaving two sons, Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan b. Rustam and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, and a daughter, whom Sháh Ardashír gave in marriage to the Ispahbad Našíru'd-Dawla Dárá b. Bahman. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla was put to death by Sháh Ardashír near Tarícha. On the death of Sháh Ghází Rustam a poet has the following verses:

دو سپید سر ز دماوند کن برون
کاندر زمانه رسم مازندران نمایند
ای پرد^ه دار پرد^ه فرو هل که بار نیست
بر تخت رستم بن علی شهریار نیست

The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází was buried by the notables of Tabaristán, such as the Ispahbad Majdu'd-Dín Dárá, king of Daylamán, Amír 'Alí Sábiq'u'd-Dawla, Sayyid Háshim the 'Alawí and Amír Surkháb, in the college where 'Alá'u'd-Dawla had been buried. After the funeral these notables met in the house of Shahrásán b. Asán, and (f. 168a) wrote to Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan to inform him of his father's death. He, though ill at the time, at once came to Sári,

and despatched his boon-companion Kay-Ká'ús with fifty horsemen to Ába-sar to seize his brother Násíru'l-Mulk, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the late Ispahbad Sháh Ghází, and cut off his head.... The warden of the castle of Tabarak sent to the Ispahbad offering to surrender it, as he was a Turk, and could not hold it. "Iráq also," he added, "like Mázandarán, is thine: send thy warden to Tabarak, and take possession of Ray, for I have business before me." So, though it was bitter cold that year, the Ispahbad sent 300 men and a warden to take possession of that country, and ordered the *marzubán* of Láriján and the Ustundár to keep a daily watch on the state of the castle and the Amír Inánj.

When the Ispahbad used to sit late drinking wine, none of his servants dared go to his home, for, if he wanted one of them, and did nor find him, he would on such occasions punish him with death. So only when he fell asleep towards morning did they dare to depart to their homes to rest. One night 300 of these servants conspired together to kill him, and those who were on duty, watching their opportunity, fell upon him, and so plied their swords and maces that, when they left him dead, not one of his limbs was whole. Then (f. 168b) they went out, saying that the Ispahbad desired to be left alone, and bade all disperse, which they did. Sháh Ardashír, learning what had happened, desired to pursue the murderers, but was dissuaded; but such as were recognized were arrested wherever they were found and sent to him, singly or in batches, and he caused them to be hung up and shot with arrows, until in the course of a year, all had been taken and killed.

The Ispahbad had four sons and one daughter. Two of the sons, Yazdigird and 'Alí, died before their father, while Husámu'd-Dawla Sháh Ardashír and Fakhru'l-Mulúk Rustam survived him. His daughter was noted for her piety, de-

voutness and virtue. Náširu'd Dín Rúz-Bihán composed the following verses on the death of the Ispahbad:

ای آمدن و گذشتنت جون سیلاپ
 جون آتش سوختنی جهانی بشتاپ
 جون باد نه آسابش بودیت نه خواب
 در خاک نهان شدی کنون جون سیماپ

When the Ustundár Hazárasp obtained control of his dominion, he ordered his son Zar-míwand Máníwand and his brother Shirwánsháh to be put to death. Both fled for protection to king Ardashír, who (f. 169a) sent a message of remonstrance to the Ustundár, saying:

جون سبک سر بود خوبیش کام سبک سر سبکته در افتاد بدام

Admonition, however, availed nothing. The Ustundár was abandoned by 'Aynu'd-Dawla Síyáh, Arslán, Tanṭiq and the Turkish Amírs, who joined themselves to the King, and were re-inforced by Arjásf, who, having obtained king Ardashír's permission, raided the marches of Daylamán, and brought in all the inhabitants and the soldiers of that district into Amul, on which Hazárasp began to march. King Ardashír collected an army of 14,000 Turks and Tájíks, set out for Rúyán, and came as far as Nátil, where he heard that Hazárasp was engaged in battle with Khwájak. The King sent on his standards and insignia, and as soon as these were seen, Hazárasp's men took to flight, and many were taken and killed, while he himself fell back on Kajú. The King encamped at Siyáh-rúd, where he remained two days, till the people of Rúyán came in to make their submission to him. Then he marched on to Kajú, ravaging the country as he went, and then returned to Qúr-shírad and Kalár (f. 169b).

In this year Sultán Ṭughril and the Atábek Muḥammad¹ rebelled, and demanded help from the King, having already received it from the Caliph, the Amírs of Aywa, and the armies of Arrán, Adharbayján, Akhlát and Marágha. The Ispahbad Bahá'u'd-Dín was accordingly sent to join them, and he came to Lafúr with so splendid an equipment of weapons adorned with gold that he was nick-named "the Golden Amír" (*Amír-i-Zarrín*). He aided in defeating the Atábek Darkala, and was dismissed to his country with honour and presents, while the Ispahbad was thanked for the aid which he had lent.

In this year a noble, brave and accomplished 'Alawí waited on the king, and was by him given rank and insignia, and assigned the district of Daylamán, which belonged to Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq ar-Ridá b. al-Hádí. He at once entered into possession, and ruled justly, and put to death the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Rustam, and liberated Bárkala after he had been imprisoned for some years, and imprisoned the governor of the city (*shahr-dár*) for sixteen years (f. 170a) in the castle of Kúzá....

In this year also Táju'd-Dín Túránsháh b. Zardastán died. Arjásf obtained permission to go to Alexandria (*sic!*) and raise an army wherewith to invade Gílán, but died there. King Ardashír made his cousin Hízibru'd-Dín Khurshíd commander-in-chief of his army, and made him governor of Amul and viceroy of Rúyán. Hazárasp and his brother went to Hamadán to Sultán Ṭughril and the Atábek Muḥammad, and prayed these to intercede for them that they might be permitted to return home. The Atábek 'Izzu'd-Dín was there-

¹ That is, I suppose, the Atábek Muḥammad the son of Ilduguz, to whose wise administration the prosperity of the first ten years of the reign of Ṭughril b. Arslán (reigned A. H. 573—590 = A. D. 1177—1194) was due, according to the historian of the Seljúqs, Najmu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ar-Ráwandi. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 876.

fore sent as an ambassador to Amul to the king of Mázandarán, who, however, declined to overlook Hazárasp's previous misdeeds. Hazárasp was told that he must himself go to the king and seek to conciliate him:

هزاراسپ را جواب باز دادند که ملازمت درگاه او باید کرد و رضای او
جست پادشاه هنرال الدین خورشیدرا مدد فیستاده ابو بکر درازگوش را
تا بدر دروازه ری بدنبل بر داشته بدوانیدند و شاعری میگوید
ملک مازندران را چون توان کرد ببو بکری و ترکی چند عاجز
که کون هر یک از صد من ای بشم رفو نکند صد مرد مطرّز

(F. 1706). The following verses were also improvised on Hazárasp by other poets:

(بیت)

بیسو ران جو هزار اسپرا یک اسپ سماند
درازگوش طلب کرد وزو حبابت خواست

(رباعی)

شاهان بھوس مركب تازی جوبند خررا ز پی مژاح و بازی جویید
شاید که هزار اسپ پس از عمر دراز قوت ز درازگوش رازی جوبند

(رباعی)

هرگز رستم ز نیزه بازی رنجد ما رعد ز بانگ طبل بازی رنجد
شاید که هزار اس انجیزد اوست هرگز ز دراز گوش رازی رنجد

(رباعی)

نه بلغ و نه بوستان گوینم ن تو نه با می و دوستان نشینم ن تو
نوك مژه خار باد در دیده من گر هیچ گل جهان بچینم ن تو

He left a little son named Sanjar Sháh, born of Turkán Khátún, and one of Tughánsháh's retainers named Manklí-

tukuz undertook to be his guardian, or Atábek. He put to death the Qádí Burhán, and on this a poet says:

جور تو ز جور آل مروان بیش است
برهان کشتن ز خون عثمان بیش است
انصاف بد که اشک مظلومان
گر جمع شود ز آب طوفان بیش است

Sháh Ardashír soon afterwards (f. 171a) hanged Manklitukuz for this deed. Sanjar Sháh and his mother carried off Qiwám ‘Alí and other notables to Khwárazm, and seized the king of Khurásán, Quṭbu’d-Dín Khán, who was his eldest son, and cut off his head, which he sent to the king at the Palace of Dawlatábád at Sári, on which a poet says:

عمر سر که به بر سر رضای تو بود
بی تن سر او چون سر زردستان باد
..... (f. 171) Verses on the untrustworthiness of women:

زن گر نه نکمی هزار باشد در عهد کم استوار باشد
حون نعش وفا وعهد بستند بر نام زنان فلم شکستند
زن نیک بود ولی زمانی تا جز تو نیافت مهربانی
حون با دگری فرو نشیند خواهد که وجود تو ببیند
ان کار زنان راست بازست افسون زنان بد درازست

Qizil Arslán was assassinated at Hamadán by four men, at the instigation of Záhida Khátún¹, who plucked the ring from his finger, gave it to the Atábek Abú Bakr, his nephew, and said, “Go, assume control of Arrán and Adharbayján.” This Abú Bakr did, and reigned in peace for twenty years.

¹ This took place in A. H. 587 (= A. D. 1191).

At this time took place the accession and coronation of the Ispahbad Shamsu'l-Mulük Rustam. Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin, accompanied by the nobles of Ṭabaristán, came to make him their offerings at the castle of Dárá. The day fixed for the coronation was declared by the astrologers to be unlucky, but the Ispahbad paid no heed to their objections. The coronation festivities lasted seven days, according to the old Persian fashion, and included the usual feastings, rejoicings, and giving of presents, while the notables and Ispahbads and Báwands assembled from all the country-side. When (f. 172a) these congratulations were finished, on the eighth day the Ispahbad ascended the throne, and girded on the royal girdle, and confirmed the governors in their appointments, and caused the Ispahbads and Amírs to cast aside their mourning, and clad them in robes of honour.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin was dissatisfied with the Ispahbad on account of the inheritance of his elder brother Sharafu'l-Mulük, and appealed to the Sultán, who sent 'Alí Sháh, governor of Dámghán and Bisṭám, with some soldiers to bid the Ispahbad, first with gentleness, and, if this failed, with a show of force, to surrender Sharafu'l-Mulük's inheritance to his brother Ruknu'd-Dawla. He also ordered the Amírs of Ray and Gurgán to help him in this. So 'Alí Sháh came by way of Fírúzkúh to Láriján, and encamped at Rúdbár-pích, and sent his brother-in-law on with a message by way of Mankúl; but the people of Shaláb waylaid him and killed him. There was a certain 'Alawí named Músá, who, before Tukush b. Il-Arslán became king², had fled from Khwárazm and taken refuge with king Ardashír, and had long been a source of trouble and sedition in Tammísha. He induced the Sultán to appoint him *wazír* to 'Alí Sháh,

¹ Till A. H. 607 (A. D. 1210). See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 171.

² i.e. King of Khwárazm, which he did in A. H. 568 (= A. D. 1172).

whom he tried to persuade (f. 172b) to seize the Ispahbad and take from him the kingdom of Mázandarán. Failing in this attempt, he strove to provoke the Ispahbad against 'Alí Sháh, who sent his head^{*} to the Ispahbad, by whom it was paraded for three days in the market. His sons, who were at Amul, were also arrested and imprisoned for some time in the castle of Kuhrúd. Peace was then concluded between the Ispahbad and 'Alí Sháh, and the former restored to Ruknu'd-Dawla the estates of his elder brother Sharafu'l-Mulúk. Ruknu'd-Dawla then surrendered the castle of Kúzá to the Ispahbad's warden Afrásiyáb, and himself waited on the Ispahbad, who received him with all honour.

Shortly after this the Assassins (f. 173a) treacherously murdered Ruknu'd-Dawla, and obtained various signal successes. Shamsu'l-Mulúk had no son, but he gave his sister in marriage to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Kínhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who was "the Father of kings" (*Abu'l-Mulúk*). This sister bore a son named Kínhwár, who was cousin on the father's side to king Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínhwár. Husámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár lived in the reign of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who used to address him as his "father", as witnessed by the verse of the poet Ráfi':

م ملک خواند م پدر سلطان عصرش در جهان
گر نداری باور از من نامه سلطان نگر
بر جهان و بر بزرگان جهان تا روز حشر
شهریار فارین سرخابرا فرمان نگر

while in another verse he says:

داند ملک از قدر ترا داور گیتی خواند پدر از فخر ترا خسرو عالم

At this period Sultán Jalálu'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, taking advantage of the growing weakness and dis-

ruption of House of Báwand, took possession of sundry castles and lands outside Tammísha, and garrisoned them with his own men. Abú Ridá Husayn b. Muḥammad Abu'l-`Alawí al-Mamfrí, on Shawwál 21, A. H. 606 (= April 1, A. D. 1210) treacherously murdered Naṣru'd-Dawla Shamsu'l-Mulük. This caused further confusion and disorganization, and many of the nobles of Ṭabaristán submitted to Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. But in a little while this dynasty in turn was brought to an end by the terrible Mongol Invasion (f. 1736). The destruction and devastation resulting therefrom included Ṭabaristán as well as other provinces of Persia, and for thirty years it was without a king or ruler, while the armies of destroying Mongols traversed it to and fro.

At last, after this period of anarchy, the people of Mázandarán and Ṭabaristán met in council at Sári, and chose as their ruler Malik Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kíkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who for some time revived the glories of his ancient house and kingdom. But soon he too was overtaken by misfortune, even as Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús b. Washmgír says in well-known verses:¹

فَلِلَّذِي بِصَرُوفِ الدَّهْرِ عَبْرَى
هَلْ عَانَدَ الدَّهْرَ إِلَّا مَنْ لَهُ خَطْرٌ
أَمَا تَرَى السَّحْرَ يَعْلُو فَوْقَهُ جَبَفٌ
وَبَسْفَرٌ يَأْعَلَى قَعْرَهُ الْدُّرْرُ
وَفِي الْسَّمَاءِ نَجْوَمٌ مَا لَهَا عَدُدٌ
وَلَيْسَ بِكُسْفٍ إِلَّا لِتَنَسَّسُ وَالْعَرْمُ
(F. 174a)

On his accession, Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír transferred the capital from Sári, which the House of Báwand had always hitherto made its metropolis, to Amul, where he made his palace at Qará-Kaláta on the banks of the river Hurmuz. Once, says the author, when he was walking through it, he

¹ These verses are also cited at the end of the third volume of the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr* (Damascus edition, p. 290). I have translated them at p. 470 of my *Literary History of Persia*.

read, amongst the paintings on the wall a long bilingual (*mulamma'*) *qasida* by Siráju'd-Dín Qumrí, beginning as follows:

وَصَلَ الْعَبْدُ لِي مَفْتَمِ كُسْرَى الثَّانِي
 مَلِكُ الْعَادِلِ ذِي الْعِزَّةِ وَالْبُرْقَانِ
 بَاسْطُ الْحَجُودِ عَلَى الْكَاشِحِ وَالْخُلَانِ
 صَادِقُ الْوَعْدِ فَلَا يَخْلُفُ كَالْخُوَانِ
 ارْدِشِيرُ آنِ شِهِ پُر دَلَ كَه گِه حَشْشُ وَجْنَكَ
 نَگْذَارَدَ اُنْرِ هَسْتَيِ درْبَا وَنَهْنَكَ
 آنَكَه بِهِرَامَ فَلَكَ روَى سَوَى گُورَ سَهَدَ
 حَوْنَ وَى ازْ كَيْشَ بِرَآردَ بَگَه جَنَكَ خَدَنَكَ

His father Kínhwár (or Kíkhwáz) was the nephew of Sháh Ardashír b. al-Hasan, while he himself was the nephew of Jalálu'd-Dín Hasan b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad [Khwárazmsháh]. But in the year A. H. 647 (= A. D. 1249—1250) he died, having reigned fifteen years.

[It is not clear at what point the record written by Ibn Isfandiyár ends, and the continuation supplied by another hand and carried down to A. D. 750 (= A. D. 1349—1350) begins, but it seems unlikely that Ibn Isfandiyár continued the history beyond this point].

At this time Mangú Qá'án (the grandson of Chingíz Khán) sat on the Mongol throne. Ḫusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír was succeeded by his elder son Shamsu'l-Mulük Muḥammad (f. 1746). Mangú Qá'án sent an army under the Amír Kat Búqá to subdue the castles and strongholds of the Assassins. Many of these he reduced, but Gird-i-Kúh, Alamút, Tún und Qá'in still held out. Mangú than sent his brother, the redoubtable Húlágú, who first took Tún and Qá'in, and captured so many prisoners that Khurásán was filled with slaves.

He then laid siege to Gird-i-Kúh and Alamút. Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Hasan, entitled by his followers al-Qá'im bi-amrílláh, was at that time Grand Master of the Assassins, but he was killed by one of his sons, and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh (or Khwarsháh), who was but an inexperienced lad, succeeded him. The philosopher Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsí, whom Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Hasan had forcibly detained and compelled to act as his *wazír*, while professing friendship for the heretics, was inwardly eager to compass their destruction, and when Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh asked his advice as to how he should answer Húlágú Khán, he counselled him (f. 175a) not to give battle, for which the stars were not propitious, but to surrender Alamút, which he accordingly did. He was at once put in chains and sent off to Mangú Qáán, who, however, on hearing what had been done, sent a messenger to meet him and put him to death. Alamút was destroyed, and its priceless treasures and library delivered to the flames. But Naṣíru'd-Dín Túsí was treated with honour, and retained in Hulágú Khán's service.

Húlágú Khán now marched on Baghdad, [sacked the city and destroyed the last 'Abbásid Caliph, al-Mustaṣim bi'lláh, as is well known]. As regards the remaining stronghold of the Assassins, Gird-i-Kúh, orders were issued to all the princes, potentates and nobles of the district to besiege it in turns; and after two or three years the turn came to the King and the Ustundár of Mázandarán. So the King of Mázandarán, Shamsu'l-Mulük Muḥammad b. Ardashír, and the Ustundár, Shahrákím b. Namáwar, set out to conduct the siege; and a daughter of the latter had been betrothed to the former. It was spring, and there was in Rúyán (f. 175b) a poet named Quṭb-i-Rúyání who composed a *tarjí-band* in the dialect of Ṭabaristán on the spring season and the hunting in Rúyán, as follows:

داوا در^۱ درشی^۲ جل شم ای شیم
و اپی کرد بناز و شکت و هار^۳ دخیردیم^۴
کنی گرم^۵ وادکن سرما و کالیم^۶
روباری او هارش بلی^۷ در فالیم^۸
میه شی^۹ شنی ای سنبله خوری بیم
آهو سنبل^{۱۰} در^{۱۱} بکرد زبله رازیم^{۱۲}
برگس دعیت^{۱۳} جام زر در بودپات^{۱۴} سبم
دببری^{۱۵} ببازربرب بسم^{۱۶} زری میم
و نوشه بناز هو^{۱۷} کرد سرو در و مده^{۱۸}
حدار بکھو کرد بکلوون^{۱۹} کرد جومه

[The following additional verses are given only in B.]

ايلك و بيلك ها وشكست اي سكيلم
سناور بسا اي زكه نلبرم
وبيه حال وشكوت جون وشكوى هنتكم
روي سوي وشكوت دوجون سنبوره دم
موسيم وندع هازه سر سوشه رم
شيم هازن آسا سر بدوله جم
كبلوهه وا بيئي دم دجابيني خور
هابيت وعشت سون دشت وکو ومسير

[The following additional verses are omitted in A.]

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|----|---------------|----|--------------|----|----------|
| ۱ | داؤاده. | ۲ | ورشنى C. | ۳ | بھار A. | ۴ | بھجربىم. |
| B. | کۆمە B. | ۵ | ھاجىرويم C. | ۶ | د.كالىيم B. | ۷ | باي B. |
| ۸ | A. C. | ۹ | مېلىشى C. | ۱۰ | سەنلىق B. | ۱۱ | در C. |
| ۱۲ | C. يودىيات. | ۱۳ | ؟ دېیست B. | ۱۴ | دېیست B. | ۱۵ | بۇدات C. |
| ۱۶ | نیازىرسىم A. | ۱۷ | دېپرى C. | ۱۸ | نیازىرسىم B. | ۱۹ | دېپرى A. |
| ۲۰ | بنزازوھو. | ۲۱ | سرۋاڭرۇامە B. | ۲۲ | کەچۈمىم C. | ۲۳ | دېپرى C. |

شَكَارِ كَاهِيْكَمْ خُورم بُوروداري
 وبرى وند كاهيكم خوش بوكلاري
 جتنه خور شكارى سگ شكار سلاري
 ..ى هيـكـم بـرـى بـوـزـ بـباـشـكارـى
 كـوهـيـكـم جـرـى تـرـ لـورـاـ ولـارـى
 آـپـنـهـ لـيـالـ هيـكـم خـوشـ بـوـسـلـارـى
 شـهـ كـبـنـ خـنـتـ هـولـارـ زـتـنـ هوـ^۱ زـمانـى
 بـيـنـ انـكـشـتـ هوـكـيلـ درـكـيـبـ جـابـنـ

When Shamsu'l-Mulük was killed, his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí was made king, and he was aided by his brother-in-law the Ustundár Shahrákím, but a fresh inrush of Mongols reduced his power to nothing and filled the land with ruins. He died in A.H. 663 (= A.D. 1264—5), in the same year in which his brother had been killed, and the devastation of Rustamdár, Mázandarán and Rúyán took place at the same time.

(F. 176). Malik Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird next succeeded, and in his time such order prevailed that a single officer, armed only with an axe, Hasan Qádí Kal by name, used, alone and on foot, to collect all the taxes of Mázandarán from Tammísha to Alísha-rúd, and bring them to the capital. Táju'd-Dawla maintained the most friendly relations with the Ustundár Sháh Ghází. He reigned 30 years, overcoming many difficulties in his relations with the Mongols, and died in A.H. 701 (= A.D. 1301—2). He left a son named Sikandar, who, however, died soon after him, and he was succeeded by another son named Naşíru'd-Dawla Shahriyár. In his days there were still seventy flourishing colleges in Mázandarán.

^۱ اوـ دـ سـوـ.

Shahriyár, following the example of his predecessors, allied himself by marriage with the Ustundár Sháh Kay-Khusraw. The Mongol dominion, however, left them but little power or security, and Shahriyár, after a reign of twelve years, died in A. H. 714 (= A. D. 1314—1315), and (f. 176b) was succeeded by his brother Malik Ruknu'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw b. Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird. At this juncture Amír Mú'min, Amíru'l-Umará, represented the Mongol government in Ṭabaristán, and between him and Ruknu'd-Dawla there was perpetual warfare. The latter entrusted his women and children to the care of the Ustundár Naṣīru'd-Dawla Shahriyár, who placed them at Iwájan in Kalá-Rustáq; but could not prevail against Amír Mú'min, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Mongol sovereign Üljáytú Sultán Muhammad Khudá-banda, and who, having obtained authority to that effect from the Mongol camp (*urdú*), sent his son Amír Qutlugh Sháh to invade Mázandarán. Several battles took place between him on the one hand, and Shahriyár and the Ustundár on the other. One of the most celebrated of these battles, in which the latter were victorious, and many Turkish *amirs* and notables of Mázandarán who were with Qutlugh Sháh were killed, took place at Lít-Kúh on the road to Yásamín-Kaláta. At length Amír Mú'min himself invaded Mázandarán, and Sháh Kay-Khusraw, unable to withstand him (f. 177b), set out for the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*). By chance Amír Tálísh Chúbán had been appointed Amír of Khurásán, and was proceeding thither. Kay-Khusraw met him, courted his favour, and promised to bring the Ustundár Naṣīru'd-Dawla Shahriyár to his presence. They journeyed on together to Amul, and alighted in the Maydán-i-Rúdbár Báqalí-pazán. There Sháh Kay-Khusraw brought the Ustundár before Amír Tálísh Chúbán, who treated them both with honour, and remained that winter at Amul. Amír Mú'min's power was thus checked. Kay-Khusraw, fearing

the Mongol Amírs, who were constantly going and coming, conveyed his women and children and baggage to the Us-tundár, from whom he bought for them the village of Fímat near Ganjáwarúz, and there abode; and there his descendants dwell to this day. He died in A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1327—8).

He was succeeded by his son Sharafú'l-Mulúk, a handsome and well-dispositioned youth, whose accession was hailed with joy by all the notables of Mázandarán. His reign was peaceful and happy, but short, (f. 177b), for he died in A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4).

He was succeeded by his brother Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Hasan b. Sháh Kay-Khusraw, the last of the Báwand kings, whose accession was nearly contemporary with Sultán Abú Sa'íd's death¹. This practically coincided with the end of the Mongol Power in Persia, which lasted about 80 years from the date of Húlágú Khán's capture of Baghdad in A. H. 656 (= A. D. 1258). The author speaks highly of the order and good government which prevailed during this period, especially during the reigns of Gházán Khán, Úljáytú Khudábanda, and Abú Sa'íd, which, says he, one might think that the poet Dhahír-i-Fáryábí was describing when he said:

آرام یافت در حرمِ امن و حش و طیر
آسوده کشت در کنف عدل انس و جان
گردون فرو گشاده میان از جفای تیع
آبام بر گشوده زه از گردن کمان
(f. 178a) ملی جنین مسخر و حکمی جنین مطلع
دبرست نا نداد فلک از کسی نشان

On Abú Sa'íd's death anarchy supervened, each *amir* striving

¹ He died in A. H. 736 (= A. D. 1335—6).

to seize what he could for himself out of the general wreckage. Amongst those who thus rose to power was Amír Mas'úd Sarbadál [or *Sar-ba-dár*], who rose up in Sabzawár, killed his brother Pahlawán 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, gathered round himself a number of rogues and vagabonds, and established himself in a citadel which he made for himself in Sabzawár. Tughá-Tímúr was nominally Sultán of Khurásán, but his *wazir*, 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad, had practically (f. 178b) got possession of all the power, and used it most oppressively. His tyranny, and that of a tribe of Turks called Jataz, reduced the people of Khurásán to desperation. The disaffected joined themselves to Amír Mas'úd Sarbadál, whose power thus rapidly increased, so that he defeated many of the Mongol and Turkish *amirs*, and even Arghún-Sháh and his brothers, until he finally held possession of Khurásán from Jám and Bákharz to Mázandarán. His popularity largely depended on the fact that all spoils of war were equitably shared by him with his followers, and that he in no way distinguished himself from them.

He now marched on Herát and attacked Malik Mu'īnu'd-Dín Ḫusayn-i-Kart. The battle lasted three days and nights, and 7000 men are said to have perished in it, including Amír Mas'úd's spiritual director Shaykh Ḥasan Júrí, and Amír Mas'úd was finally defeated and fell back on Mázandarán. At Bayárú-kamand he had another battle with Tughá-Tímúr, whose brother, Shaykh 'Alí Káwán, he killed. He defeated Tughá-Tímúr and took captive Píshín Khátún and other ladies of his house (f. 179a), and pursued, captured and put to death his *wazir* 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad at Qal'a Kamín. Tughá-Tímúr fled from him to Lár and Qaṣrán, where he was re-inforced by Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Ustundár.

Amír Mas'úd soon succeeded in re-establishing his power in Khurásán, which, from Herát to Gurgán and Qúmish, fell

under his sway, and he placed his governors in each important town. He then came to Astarábád, intending to subjugate Ṭabaristán, and sought by all means to win over to him its kings and rulers. Kiyá Jamálú'd-Dín Ahmad Jál, a powerful, sagacious and experienced noble, obtained permission from the King of Mázandarán to go with his nephews Kiyá Táju'd-Dín and Kiyá Jalál, to Astarábád, and try to come to terms with Amír Mas'úd, who received them well, but forced them to accompany him on his onward march to Sári, whence he sent to the kings at Amul (f. 179^b) desiring to see them. After prolonged consultation, Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla of Mázandarán and Malik Jalálú'd-Dawla Iskandar the Ustundár determined to resist Amír Mas'úd by force, and sent him a harsh answer. Thereupon, leaving some of his men at Sári, Amír Mas'úd marched on Amul. The two armies met outside Amul on Dhu'l-Qa'da 17, A. H. 743 (= April 13, A. D. 1343), in the plain of Búrán, where the Mázandaránís had constructed at Qará-Kaláta by their King's Palace a temporary stockade, which they prepared to defend with the utmost stubbornness. Jamálú'd-Dín Ahmad Jál, seeing that battle was inevitable, and that Amír Mas'úd would not hearken to his advice (f. 180^a), sent repeated and urgent messages to his friends and kinsmen to "defend the honour of Mázandarán", and not to concern themselves about his possible fate, "for," said he, "I am an old man, who have lived my life: if I perish and Mázandarán continue in honour it is better than that ye should submit to subjection and abasement." The Mázandaránís responded to this heroic advice, and all, from Tammísha to the frontiers of Gílán, forgetting their private quarrels and jealousies, presented a united face to the foe. Amír Mas'úd, alarmed at their firmness, requested Kiyá Jamálú'd-Dín Ahmad Jál and his nephews to extricate him from Amul (f. 180^b). Amír 'Alí Hawákhún (? Mawákhún) deserted him for the Mázandaránís, which added

to his alarm, and he gave Kiyá Ahmád Jál five *kharwárs* of *dirhams* to guide him out of the country. The Kiyá sent this money to his kinsmen, and bade them construct earthworks from the river Hurmuz to Sári and close the roads. After ten days' sojourn in Amul, Amír Mas'úd quitted it with his army. At Yásamín-Kaláta, one parasang's distance from the city, he was confronted by the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, while the soldiers of Mázandarán attacked him in the rear. Mas'úd, seeing that he was out-manceuvred, killed Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Ahmád Jál and his nephews, and fled towards Láwích, making for the mountains. The woods and thickets which he was compelled to traverse were swarming with his foes, while the Kings closely pursued him, and one vast battle raged from Yásamín-Kaláta to Rúdbár-i-Núr; until the Khurásánís, after sustaining heavy losses, were finally completely disorganized and scattered:

جمع آمدہ بوند جو پرسن بدچند
گردون جو بنات نعشان پیراگند

Finally (f. 181a), after two days' flight, Amír Mas'úd, with a few of his followers, reached the mountains by way of Rúdbár-Bálú, and began to ascend. The path was barred by the scouts of Taju'u'd-Dawla, the Ustundár's brother, Malík-i-Mu'adhdham Sharafu'd-Dawla Gustahm, and he was forced to turn back by way of Rúdbár-Uz, but, losing his way, was taken captive.

Amír Mas'úd, wounded and captive, was brought before Malík Fakhru'd-Dawla, who asked him as to the original size of his army. He answered that provision had been made for 4000 horses, 600 mules and 400 camels, from which could he deduced the size of the army. He was then sent on to the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, who, after two days' consideration, put him to death. His body was buried on the road to Kálíjar under a mill on the east side of the stream.

صاحب نظری کجاست تا در نگرد
تا این همه مملکت بدان می ازید

(F. 181b). His head was cut off, stuffed with straw, and exhibited to all men at the very place where he had, a few days before, encamped with so great and well-equipped an army.

غرة مشو گر ز چرخ کار تو گردد بلند
ز آنکه بلندی دهد نا بتواند فگند

(رباعی)

عمری بمراد رانده گیر آخر جه وین نامه عمر خوانده گیر آخر جه
گیم که بکام دل همانی صد سال صد سال دگر بمانده گیر آخر جه

(بیت)

اگر پادشاهست ور پینه دوز جو خفتند گردد شب هر دو روز
(F. 182a). (قطعه)

دل در جهان مبند که باریست بی وفا
جامیست بی شراب و شرابیست بی صفا
نوشش مچش که زهر افعیست در عقب
خموش محصور که ریچ خمارست در فعا
راه امل میتوی که آللدار قدد خلت
رسم طلل مجوى که الربع قد عفا

The people of Ṭabaristán, except the learned and religious classes, used to wear their hair long and hanging loose — sometimes as much as a yard (*gaz*) in length; but, some days after the execution of Amír Mas'úd-i-Sarbadál, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla, seeing that his late foe had his hair shaved, adopted the same practice, together with the wearing of the turban, and first his own kinsmen, and then the rest

of the people, imitated him, so that the new fashion became general, and the long locks, called *kalálak*, and the head-dress called *kald-band*, were finally abandoned.

It has been already described how, in the reign of Malik Ruknū'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw, Amír Mú'min and his son Qutlugh-Sháh caused dissension in Mázandarán which led to great disorganization, and how Malik Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muhammad treacherously slew his brother 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí, and assumed the reins of government¹. Malik Ruknū'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw went to the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*) and brought back an order for the dismissal of Malik Shamsu'l-Mulúk, who retired to Gílán for a while, but was presently summoned thence by Ruknū'd-Dawla, who, at the advice of Amír Qutlugh Sháh, put him to death, together with his brother Malik Ardashír and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí (f. 182b) in the summer-palace of Ardashír-abád.

Thus Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw, being left alone, was weakened, and Qutlugh Sháh strengthened, and the former, gradually pushed back, conveyed his family and possessions to the domain of the Ustundár, whose people helped and supported him. There his sons, and those of Sharafu'l-Mulúk, Fakhru'd-Dawla, and the other brothers, grew up, honoured and treated in every way like the princes of Ustundár; until, moved by false suspicions, he put to death Kiyá Jalál b. Ahmad Jál, which caused universal disgust and consternation amongst the nobles who had hitherto supported him, save the rival Kiyás of Chaláp, with whom he was now compelled to ally himself. Of these, Kiyá Afrásiyáb of Chaláp was his principal ally.

In Mázandarán, thus distracted, there now appeared the dervish orders, *pírs*, and *muríds*, which had already appeared in Khurásán. Afrásiyáb (f. 183a) and his kinsmen became

¹ This statement cannot be reconciled with that on p. 261 *supra*, ll. 9—10, but the meaning of the text seems clear in both passages

enthusiastic for this doctrine, and desired to persuade Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw to it. The Kiyás of Jalál attached themselves to the chief Ustundár, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar. Malik-i-Mu^cadhdham marched on Amul and ravaged the surrounding territory. Fakhru'd-Dawla came with two or three thousand men to the camp of the king of Ustundár to sue for peace, which was granted, and the united forces then expelled the Kiyás of Chaláp from Amul. These allied themselves with their former foes, the Kiyás of Jalál. The king of Mázandarán tried to regain their confidence, but could not overcome their mistrust. Amír Sayyid Qiwámu'd-Dín, whom the Kiyás of Chaláp regarded as their saint and spiritual director, disliked Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla on account of his real or supposed heretical tendencies. Finally on Muḥarram 27, A. H. 750 (= April 17, A. D. 1349) Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla was treacherously murdered in the bath at Amul by 'Alí Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb and his brother Muḥammad Kiyá (F. 183b). His family, having no other place of safety, again took refuge with the supreme Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar, who received them with all hospitality and kindness.

Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla left four sons, all of tender years, Malik Sharafu'l-Mulúk, Sháh Ghází, and Malik Ká'ús¹, of whom the eldest was but ten years of age. Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla not only protected and cared for them while they were young, but when they were grown up he undertook several campaigns with a view to restoring them to their kingdom. On one occasion he attacked Kiyá Afrásiyáb, the Kiyás of Jalál and Sayyid Qiwámu d-Dín at Marán-Dih near Amul (f. 184a), and killed the former, but finally, with his men of Rustamdár, was out-numbered and driven back by the Mázandaránís. In this battle 330 of the men of Rustamdár were slain, and it was the last attempt of the kings of Báwand

¹ The name of one son is evidently omitted.

to assert their power, which had endured in Mázandarán for 705 years; for the founder of the Dynasty, Báw-i-Shápúr, established his independence in A. H. 45 (= A. D. 665—6), while the last of them, Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Hasan, was killed, as above stated, in A. H. 750 (= A. D. 1349).

Colophon of India Office Manuscript.

تمت في شهور سنة ١٣٣٢ كتبه العبد الجلاني
تمت بين وستين ناق المازندراني

NOTES.

(*The following notes by Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum comprise such observations as he was kind enough to send me on the proofs which I submitted to him, and which could not be incorporated in the text either as corrections or foot-notes.*)

P. 9. "The setting of this anecdote is quite historical, for the three persons concerned were all contemporaries. You will find a notice of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Qurayb al-Asma'i in De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, vol. II, p. 123, and of al-'Attábi in the *Fihrist* of al-Warráq, vol. I, p. 121. See also De Slane, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 466 and vol. III, p. 99."

"With regard to the Shī'a "rijál" (notable men) all the authorities that I quoted contain much the same matter; but I could not tell which of them might be accessible to you. Of Najáshí, I think, no MS. is at present recorded in Europe. I have a Bombay lithograph, which can easily be procured. The *Fihrist* of -Túsí (contemporary with -Najáshí) you have in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Concerning -Astarábádí and his *Manhaju'l-Maqál*, see Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, N° 635. I have a Persian lithograph of the book. The Muntaha'l-Maqál of Muḥammad b. Isma'il al-Há'irí is a quite recent work, compiled from all accessible older authorities, and extremely useful, though somewhat condensed. Of this also I have a Persian lithograph. Another book of which I possess a Bombay edition is the Ikhtiyár of Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashší (see Rieu's *Arabic Sup-*

plement, N° 833). It often contains useful information, but is not very easy of reference. I have also a Persian edition of the *Naqdūr-Rijál* of at-Tafríshí (Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, N° 636); but it is rather meager, and does not add much to the contents of the first-named works."

"In the following notes I have quoted several times from a book which you may perhaps know, namely '*Umdatūt-Tálib fi ansábi Áli Abi Tálib*' ("the Student's Mainstay for the [verification of the] genealogies of the House of Abú Tálib"). It was composed in Arabic under the Amír Tímúr by Ibn 'Utba ('Uqba, 'Inaba) Jamálu'd-Dín Ahmad b. 'Áli, who died in A. H. 828 (= A. D. 1424--5)."

P. 19. "Concerning Hasan b. Yahyá al-'Alawí, called *Kúchak*, see '*Umdatūt-Tálib*', p. 68."

P. 32. "*Abdu'r-Rahmán* b. Khúrzád, author of a *Kitábí'l-Masálík wa'l-Mamálík* is cited. May not this be intended for Ibn Khurdádhbih? It is true the last is usually called '*Ubaydu'lláh*'. Still there is some slight uncertainty with regard to his name, and we know next to nothing about the man. The remark about the excellence of Samarqand will be found on p. 172 of De Goeje's edition of his book, together with the saying of ar-Raqqáshí with some variation. On p. 171 of the same edition Ibn Khurdádhbih says of Tabaristán that it is احسن الأرض معروفة. De Goeje omits these words in his translation, and gives no explanation. In his critical notes he says that al-Muqaddásí has معروفة in place of معرفة. Al-Muqaddásí says that he got this rhyming notice from a book which he found in the library of 'Adudu'd-Dawla, and adds — ذرْتُ فيه ما لا يجُب ترْكَه. *Abdu'lláh* b. Khurdádhbih, the father of '*Ubaydu'lláh*', was, I may mention, according to -Tabarí (Series III, pp. 1014—1015) governor (*wáli*) of Tabaristán."

Ibid. "Husayn b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí was the Imám

^cAlí's standard-bearer and an Anṣári. There are brief notices of him in the *Manhaju'l-Maqál*, p. 118, and the *Muntaha'lu'l-Maqál*, p. 115. There is nothing to show how he came to know anything about either Samarqand or Tabaristán. He may, however, have been a Persian, as his *kunya* is Abú Sásán."

P. 36. "Concerning 'the son of Amír Ká', compare 'Um-datu'l-Tálib', pp. 71, 72, where Amír Ká appears as —

الحسين امير کا الفیں الملقب بشکنیہ بن علی بن محمد المعروف بابن علیۃ
a descendant from Isma'il Jálibu'l-Hijára by eight generations."

P. 37. "'A Jew named Sham'ún (Simon)'. Or. 7633 has شعور بن خداداد. This suggests a reminiscence of the Jewish Maccabean hero Shim'on ben Mattathyah. Mattathyah = Gift of God = Khudádád."

P. 39. "In the *Akhbár-i-Barmakiyán* of Diyá'u'd-Dín Baraní (Bombay ed., pp. 6—7) allusion is made to this talisman. Baraní, however, speaks of it as an armlet, and does not mention its origin. The anecdote connected with the ring is as follows. The courtiers introduced Barmak into the presence of 'Abdu'l-Malik, who, as soon as he saw him, ordered him to be severely beaten and thrust out. Afterwards the courtiers prayed the Caliph to make known to them Barmak's offence. 'Abdu'l-Malik replied that Barmak carried poison upon his person, and that upon his own arm were two jewels which, whenever anyone should come before him having poison upon him, would be attracted towards one another. When Barmak entered, these two jewels were so strongly drawn together as to cause pain to the Caliph's arm. Angered at this, 'Abdu'l-Malik ordered Barmak to be chastised."

P. 47. "May not 'Abu'l-'Amr' perhaps be the same person as أبو معمر بن ثني سعيد الأسماعيلي (*Yattimatu'd-Dahr*, *Damascus* ed., vol. III, p. 274) and الاستاذ أبو المعمر يعمر بن الحسين

بن المظفر (*Dumyatu'l-Qasr*, Add. 9994, f. 8ob)? Unfortunately, all that we seem to know about these three names is that they all belonged to the same part of Persia."

Ibid. "There is a biographical notice of Muhammad b. Zayd at pp. 71 *et seqq.* of the '*Umdatūt-ṭālib*.'

Ibid. "By 'Tabātabá al-‘Alawi' must be meant Abú ‘Abd-illáh al-Husayn b. Muhammad b. Tabátába al-Hasaní, one of the chief authorities of the author of the '*Umdatūt-ṭālib*' for the pedigrees of the earlier Sayyids. He was the Shaykh of Abú'l-Hasan ‘Alí b. Muhammad al-‘Umarí, another of Ibn ‘Utba's authorities, who was in al-Mawṣil in A. H. 423 = A. D. 1032 (*Umda*, p. 364) and in Amid in A. H. 430 = A. D. 1038—9 (*Ibid.*, p. 60). For Ibráhím Ṭabátabá, the genealogist's ancestor, see '*Umda*, p. 158."

P. 50 (also p. 46). "*As-Sarwi*". As-Sam‘ání (*Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 297b, gives سُرْوَى from سُرْوَى in the district of Ar-dabíl, but سُرْوَى from سَارِيَة in Mázandarán. Unfortunately he does not mention anyone derived from the last named place."

Pp. 50 and 55. "Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámtírí and Sayyid Imám Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Hasan b. Mahdí al-Mamtírí are, I suppose, the same person."

P. 52. "The ascription of the authorship of the *Kitábu'l-Faráj ba'da sh-Shidda* to Qádí Abu'l-Qásim at-Tanúkhí is an error. The real author was his son Muḥassín b. ‘Alí, as is clearly shewn by various allusions in the book itself."

P. 54. "Abu'l-Faráj ‘Alí b. al-Husayn must be the poet Ibn Hindú. He was a native of Ray, and one of the *Kut-tábu'l-Inshá* of ‘Adudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid. He was in Jurján about A. H. 410 = A. D. 1019—1020 (aş-Şafadí's *Wáfi bi'l-Wafayát*), and died in A. H. 420 = A. D. 1029 (Hájjí Khalífa, vol. III, p. 252; vol. VI, p. 15),"

P. 59. "Concerning Zarrín Kamar, see the '*Umdatūt-ṭālib*,

p. 68, where he appears as كمر بن علي، للحسن الملقب بترین، a direct descendant of 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ash-Shajári."

Ibid. "Imádí is, I suppose, identical with the homonymous contemporary of Sáná'í of Ghazna mentioned by Dawlatsháh, p. 98, and noticed by 'Awfí in vol. II of the *Lubáb*, pp. 257 *et seqq.* The author of the *Majma'ul-Fuṣahá*, vol. I, p. 350, calls him 'Imádí Shahriyári, and says that he composed poems in praise of 'Imádú'd-Dawla ad-Daylamí and Tughril Beg the Seljúq. He admits, however, that some critics say that there are more 'Imádis than one. Taqiyu'd-Dín Káshání in his *Khulásatu'l-Ashrár*, (Or. 3506, ff. 449b—452a) has a long notice of 'Imádí. He distinguishes two poets of this name, 'Imádí-i-Ghaznawí and 'Imádí-i-Shahriyári. The latter was a native of Shahriyár, one of the dependencies of Ray, and resided in the last-named city. In the latter part of his life he was attached to the court of Tughril b. Arslán. He died in his native place in A. H. 573 (= 1177—8)."

Sheet 9 (pp. 129—144). Owing to the vagaries of the Post Office, this sheet was printed off before the corrections indicated by Mr. Ellis had been made. These, therefore, are included with the longer notes in this place.

P. 129, l. 26. For "whom" read "whose". "Abú Jaysh al-Hiláli. Properly this *kunya* should be *Abu'l-Jaysh*, not *Abú Jaysh*, but perhaps in a Persian MS the absence of the article may not be significant. Otherwise I had thought of ابو حَنْش عَصْمَ بْنَ النَّعْلَانِ, who was a Badawí poet of the reign of al-Mahdí, and a friend of Bashshár b. Burd (died A. H. 167 or 168 = A. D. 783—4 or 784—5). See the *Kitábu'l-Agháni*, vol. III, p. 60, vol. XI, p. 65, vol. XVIII, pp. 74—75. I have not, however, discovered his tribal *nisba*, and there does not appear to be any evidence of his ever having been in Tabaristán. Add. 7633 has distinctly ابو جَيْبَش.

Pp. 130—131 (and also pp. 120, 124 and 125 *supra*). “For ‘Amr b. ‘Alá read ‘Umar b. al-‘Alá. So Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 136, 137, 493, 500, 520, and 521, and Add. 7633.”

P. 130, l. 26 “The story to which reference is here made is given in brief in the *Murassa* of Ibnu'l-Athír, ed. Seybold, 1896, p. 184.”

P. 132, ll. 16—23. “Either the India Office MS. or yourself has jumped a few lines. I have inserted a translation of these in their place on the proof, and enclose herewith a copy of the passage from Add. 7633.” (The lines in question are, I find, actually omitted in the India Office MS. The amended translation runs as follows. “Next came Sa‘íd b. Salm (so Ṭabarí) b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammál and ‘Abdu’lláh, the sons of ‘Abdu'l-‘Azíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 177, these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Hajjáj, who ruled for a year and four months, and was followed in A. H. 179 by ‘Abdu'l-Malik b. Qa‘qa‘, who remained one year...” “For Ḥázim, Add. 7633, supported by Ṭabarí, has Kházim.”

Pp. 134 and 136. “Both these alternative motives for the destruction of the Barmecides are recorded by Ṭabarí (series III, pp. 669 *et seqq.* and pp. 676 *et seqq.*)”

Pp. 134, l. 16. “By -Nawfalí ‘Alí b. Muḥammad b. Su-laymán an-Nawfalí is probably intended. See De Goeje’s Index to Ṭabarí, p. 400.”

P. 140, l. 30. “Add. 7633 has Khalífa b. Sa‘d here, as well as in l. 19 above.”

Ibid. “For Mihruya, De Goeje (Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has Mahruwayh.”

P. 141, l. 12. “Farishi should at least be Jurayshi, but Jurashi is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633. This *nisba* is thus vocalized by as-Sam‘áni (Add. 23,355, f. 127a), who derives it from Juraysh, a Ḥimyarite tribe. Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has al-Harashi.”

Ibid., l. 28. "Read *Zufar* for *Zafr*; and in l. 29 read 'Amira for 'Umayra, which is always a woman's name."

P. 142, ll. 22, 25, 28. "Read *Nu^caym b. Kházim* for *Na^cim b. Házim*."

P. 144, l. 12. "Through" is, of course, a misprint for "though".

P. 147, l. 2. Correct, as above on p. 141, *Jurayshi* to *Jurashi*.

Ibid. ll. 5—6. "For Bizíst-i-Fírúzán = Yaḥyá b. Abí Manṣúr, see *Fihrist*, p. 275, al-Qiftí's *Ta^rikhū'l-Hukamá*, pp. 357—359. He died in A. H. 215 or 217 (= A. D. 830 or 832): see Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, N° 14.

P. 174, 6. The text has Tarchí for Tarícha, but the emendation, suggested by Mr. Ellis, seems pretty certain.

P. 180, l. 4. "Here, as on the previous page, A. wrongly reads *al-Musta^cin* for *al-Mu^ctazz*, which latter is not only required by history, but is in every case the actual reading of A. Ṭabarí gives the name of this Caliph as Muḥammad, but in the *Mafátiḥū'l-^cUlūm* of al-Khwárazmí and in the Wáfi of aş-Şafadí (Add. 23,858, f. 112a) he is called Zubayr."

P. 187, ll. 14—15. "Abu'l-Husayn Ahmād b. Muḥammad was a Shajarí Sayyid, a descendant of a different line from Sayyid Ḥasan's. See 'Umdatū't-ṭálib, p. 71, l. 18, where his relationship to Sayyid Ḥasan is expressed by ختنہ علیٰ اخْتَنَة. This must, I think, imply 'brother-in-law'. The word ختن may be used of any relation through a woman, according to the lexica."

P. 190, l. 2. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 2039—2201."

P. 191, ll. 14—15. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 1929—2159."

P. 193. "'Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad'. Abu'l-Fara-jū'l-İsbahání, the author of the *Kitábū'l-Agháni*, gives, in his *Maqátilu^t-Tálibiyyín* (Tíhrán, A. H. 1307, p. 229), rather a

different account of the death of Muḥammad b. Zayd. He relates that Isma'il b. Aḥmad, who had made himself master of Khurásán, sent against him one of his officers named Muḥammad b. Hárún with orders to attack him. An engagement took place at Báb Jurján in which the Sayyid was mortally wounded. After the battle he was found on the field still breathing, and was carried to Jurján, where he died. His funeral obsequies were performed by his adversary Muḥammad b. Hárún. These events took place in Ramaḍán, A. H. 289 (*sic*). Sayyid Muḥammad's son Zayd was taken prisoner in the battle, and brought to Jurján, where he still is at the present time,' i. e. A. H. 313 (= A. D. 925—6). Abu'l-Faraj was born in A. H. 284 (= A. D. 897), five (or three) years before the above mentioned battle was fought."

P. 194, l. 15. "This *Shajara-i-ansáb-i-Talibiyya* is most probably identical with the *Ansábu ashráfi'l-amṣár* of Ibn Tabáṭabá, already mentioned on p. 47, l. 8."

P. 195, ll. 17—18. "Add. 7633 (= B.) has أبْرَهِيم وَمُحَمَّد (— B.) has إِبْرَاهِيم وَمُحَمَّد. The vocalization and meaning of إِلْصا are obscure. The dictionaries do not give much help. مَصَّا is one of the nomina verbi of مَضَى, and has amongst other meanings that of 'carrying an enterprise to its conclusion'. I would suggest that a derivative مَصَّا should be read, but unfortunately no such form is recorded in the lexica. فَهِيَان must, I think, be an error for فَهِيَاء [this last is the reading of A.], for no such form as فَهِيَان, although quite possible, is recorded."

P. 198, end. "The person usually known by the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* was the famous *wazír* of the Caliphate al-Fadl b. Sahl. As, however, he was murdered at Sarakhs in A. H. 202 (= A. D. 817—818), he can hardly be the

person intended here, unless 'grandson' could be substituted for 'son'."

P. 199, l. 25. "Abu'l-Fadl Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Bal'amí was the father of the Persian translator of -Ṭabarí, and died in A. H. 329 (= A. D. 940—941). See -Sam'ání's *Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 90."

P. 210, ll. 5—6. "The addition in parentheses (which is found in B.) seems necessary, otherwise the personality of Díkú on p. 216 is rather enigmatical."

P. 210, l. 18. "The Sayyids' governor". He was appointed by تصران; i.e. the family of an-Násiru'l-Kabír, not by Sayyid Hasan."

P. 215, 14. "Máñkdím was a descendant of Zaynu'l-'Abídín, not of 'Aqíl b. Abí Tálib."

P. 219, ll. 24 *et seqq.* "The news was brought to Hasan b. Fírúzán at Sári, not to Washmágír at Amul."

P. 227, ll. 3—4. "Add. 7310, f. 8, vocalizes the name of Sultán Maḥmúd's father سُبْكِن 'Subuktigín', not 'Sabuktagín'."

P. 229, l. 5 and note. As regards the vocalization *Hum-múla* adopted by the Delhi edition, Mr. Ellis remarks that if the name be Arabic, as it appears to be, such vocalization is inadmissible, as giving no meaning. The same edition incorrectly gives this person's full name as *Abu'l-Husayn b. Ahmad b. Hummúla*, 'Alí having dropped out after Abú.

P. 229, l. 8. "As to the name *Asfár b. Kurdiyya* the texts of the Yamíní vary. Add. 7310 reads سار, the Delhi ed. has شار, Or. 1513 and the Buláq ed. concur in reading شاپور.

P. 229, l. 10. "The Yamíní adds after the name Rashá-núj the words ابن أخت عظيم الدبلم. Sec Delhi ed., p. ۲۰.; Buláq ed., vol. II, p. ۲; Add. 7310, f. ۱۱۲a. The MS. Or. 1513, f. 108a, has incorrectly شاهموچ for رشاموچ."

P. 245, l. 29. "Add. 7633 (= B.) reads شیرزیل. I take *Shirzil* (or *Shira-zil*) to be a clan name. Compare Ḥamza (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 241—2), who mentions the *Shirdhilāwandān* as the tribe or clan (قبيله) of 'Alī b. Buwayh, and the *Wardādāwandān* as that of Asfār b. Shírawayh (Shíru'ē), both these leaders being 'Daylamī', as opposed to Mardawīj, who was a 'Jīlī'. Also *Shirzilwānd* are named in the original Persian of Ibn Isfandiyār as forming part of the 400 prisoners burnt by the Ispahbad."

INDEX.

This Index includes, besides a few general references to matters of special interest, (1) names of persons, (2) names of places, and (3) titles of books mentioned in the preceding pages. In the arrangement of the Muhammadan names, the prefixes *Abú* ("Father of . . .") and *Ibn* ("Son of . . .") are disregarded, so that, for example, the names *Abu'l-Fadl* and *Ibn Khurdádbih* must be sought under the letters F and K respectively, not under A and I. Between two names the word *Ibn* ("Son of . . .") is represented by *b.*, but in the case of Persian names, the Persian *idáfat* (-i-) is sometimes employed to indicate the same relation: *e.g.* *'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir* and *Qárim-i-Shahriyár*. A hyphen prefixed to a name (generally a *nesba*) means that the Arabic definite article *al-* should precede it: *e.g.* *Hárún-Rashíd* = Hárún al-Rashíd, or, according to the phonetic transcription which I adopt, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd. Each name is written in full the first time it occurs, but some of the commonest names are occasionally abbreviated as follows: *A.* = Ahmad, *Ibr.* = Ibrahím, *Ism.* = Isma'il, *H.* = Hasan, *Hus.* = Husayn; *'Ab.* = 'Abbás, *'Al.* = Abdu'lláh; *'A.* = 'Alí, *'U.* = 'Umar; *Q.* = Qásim; *M.* = Muhammad, *Ya.* = Yaḥyá. Persian names I have thought it best always to write in full. Place-names are distinguished by an asterisk, while titles of books are printed in italics. In the case of names of little-known places in Tabaristán, where the vocalization is often extremely uncertain, I occasionally refer to Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig, 1868) as "Mel.", and to Dorn's four volumes of *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres* as "Dorn I", "Dorn II", etc. To facilitate identification, I have occasionally indicated in brackets after a name the century of the Christian era in which the owner flourished, or, in the case of place-names, the district in which the place is apparently situated. When it is desired to indicate in which half of a century a person flourished, a small (1) or (2) is added to the Roman figure: thus (IX²) means the latter half of the ninth century of our era.

INDEX.

Abu'l-A'azz M. b. Qays (IX²), 172.

*Aba-sar (Sári), 250.

*Abasgún, 78, 199, 208.

'Ibn 'Abbád. See *Isma'il b. 'Abbád*, -Şálikub.

'Abbás, House of —, or 'Abbásid Caliphs, 10, 51, 99, 108, 110, 111, 125, 143, 144, 161, 177, 201, 205, 259.
See also under the names of individual Caliphs.

'Abbás b. -'Aqílí (IX²), 174.

'Abbás, brother of the Maşmughán (IX²), 176.

'Ab. b. M. -Háshimí (VIII²), 121.

'Ab. b. Qábúsán (X¹), 212.

'Ab. b. Zufar (not Zafr, see note on p. 277, l. 1, IX¹), 141.

'Abbásá (sister of Hárún-Rashíd), 134, 136, 139.

Abu'l-'Abbás 'Al. b. M. b. Núh b. Asad -Sámání (X¹), 195—199.

Abu'l-'Ab. A. b. 'Abd -Azíz b. Abí Dulaf -'Ijlí (governor of 'Iráq, IX²), 191.

Abu'l-'Ab.-Faqíh -'Alaqí (X¹), 215.

Abu'l-'Ab.-'Aşşári (X¹), 216.

Abu'l-'Ab., the chamberlain (X²), 228.

Abu'l-'Ab. b. *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* (X¹), 213, 214.

Abu'l-'Ab.-Ghánimí(minister of Qábús b. Washmgír (X²—XI¹), 92.

Abu'l-'Ab. b. Já'í (X²), 229.

Abu'l-'Ab. b. Kálanjár (X¹), 216.

Abu'l-'Ab.-Qaşşáb, Shaykh —, 80. (See Jámí's *Nafahát*, Calc. ed., 1859, pp. 323—6).

Abu'l-'Ab.-Rúyáni, Qádi'l-qudát (X²—XI¹), 76.

Abu'l-'Ab.-Şaffáh (Caliph, A. D. 750—754), 111.

Abu'l-'Abbás, Sayyid — (x²—xi¹), 51, 54.

Abdál, The —, 109.

*Ab-Dara (near Kúsán), Castle of —, 61.

*'Abd-'Adhím, Shrine of —, near Ray, 70.

'Abd -Azíz -Ijlí (IX), 47.

'Abd -Hamíd Maḍrúb (governor of Ṭabaristán, VIII²), 125.

'Abd -Hamíd (secretary of Marwán II, A. D. 744—750), 111.

'Abd -Jabbár b. 'Abd -Raḥmán (VIII²), 118, 121.

'Abdu'lláh b. -'Abbás (VII), 111, 112.

'Al. b. 'Abd -Azíz (VIII), 132.

'Al. b. 'Azíz (officer of Ṭáhirids, IX²), 179.

'Al. b. Abí Burda b. Abí Músá -Ash'arí, 6.

'Al. [b.] Faḍlawayh -Sarawí (not -Sarwí, as in text), 46.

“As-Sam'áni, *Ansáb*, Add. 23,355 (Brit. Mus.), f. 297b,

gives سَرْوَى, Sarwí from سَرْوَى, Sarw, in the district of

Ardabíl, but سَرْوَى, Sarawi from سَارِيَة, Sáriya (now

Sári) in Mázandarán. Unfortunately he does not mention anyone derived from the last-named place.” A. G. E.

'Al. b. Ḥasan (adherent of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, x¹), 200.

'Al. b. Ḥázim (VIII²), 132.

'Al. b. Ḥusayn b. Sahl “Tájí Duwayr”, 73.

'Al. b.-Kawwá (Khárijite leader, VII), 101.

'Al. b. Maḥmúd b. Núḥ, Abu'l-'Abbás — (governor of Ṭabaristán), 38.

'Al. b. Málik (governor of Ṭabaristán, VIII²—IX¹), 143.

'Al. b. Mubárik, the scribe (x¹), 209.

'Al. b. M. b. Núḥ -Sámáni, Abu'l-'Abbás — (x¹), 195.

'Al. b. M. -Kátib (“the Scribe”), 206.

'Al. b. -Muqaffá. See *Ibn -Muqaffá*.

'Al. b. Qaḥṭaba (VIII²—IX¹), 132.

'Al. b. Qutayba. See *Ibn Qutayba*.

'Al. b. Sa'íd (IX²), 162, 163.

'Al. b. Sa'íd -Jaríshí (or -Jurayshí, IX¹), 141, 143, 147.

“*Jarishi* should at least be *Jurayshi*, but *Jurashi* is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633.” A. G. E. (See end of p. 276).

‘Abdu’lláh b. Salám (x¹), 213.

‘Al. b. Sayf (VIII²), 123.

‘Al. b. -Tabarí (IX²), 80.

‘Al. b. Táhir (governor of Khurásán, IX), 152—157.

‘Al. b. ‘Umar b. -Khaṭṭáb, 98.

‘Al. b. Wahb -Rásibí (Khárijite leader VII²), 102.

‘Al. b. Wandá-ummíd (IX²), 162.

‘Al. b. Yaḥyá b. Kháqán (minister of -Mutawakkil, IX²), 158.

Abú ‘Abdi’lláh, Shaykh — (Imámí divine, X²), 54.

Abú ‘Al. -Hasan b. ‘Alí b. Hishám (contemporary of -Aşma‘í, VIII²—IX¹), 136.

Abú ‘Al. M. b. H. (of Amul, X¹), 212.

Abú ‘Al. M. -Ridá b. Zayd b. M. b. Zayd (X¹), 194.

Abú ‘Al. M. -Utrush. See -Utrush.

‘Abdu’l-Malik [b.] Mákán (X²), 229.

‘Abdu’l-Malík b. Marwán (Umayyad Caliph, VII²), 39, 105.

‘Abdu’l-Malík I b. Núḥ -Sámání (A. D. 954—961), 224.

‘Abdu’l-Malík b. Qurayb -Aşma‘í (IX¹), 9.

‘Abdu’l-Qádir (read -Qáhir) -Jurjání, Imám —, 78.

‘Abdu’r-Rahmán Khúrzád (“probably Ibn Khurdádhbih”, A. G. E., IX¹), 32.

‘Abdu’r-Rahmán Ṭughá-Turk, Atábek — (son of Quṭbu’d-Dín M. Khwárazmsháh, XIII¹), 59.

Abú Abdi’r-Rahmán M. b.-H.-Lamrásakí, Qádí —, 30.

Abú ‘Abdi’r-Rahmán Ziyád b. An‘am -Ifríqí (contemporary of the Caliph-Manṣúr, VIII), 10.

‘Abdu’s-Salám (chamberlain of Qábús, X²—XI¹), 92.

‘Abd-Shams (ancestor of Umayyads), 48.

‘Abdu’l-Wahíd b. Isma‘íl “*Imám-i-shahíd*” (murdered by Assassins”, XI), 75:

*Abhar, 69, 178.

*Abkhama, 28.

Abu'l-Mulük, 147. See Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín.

Abyssinians, 20, 74.

*Adharbayján, 14, 61, 68, 96, 237, 252, 254.

Adhár-valásh (Sásánian governor of Tabaristán, VII¹), 97, 98.

‘Adí b. ‘Abdu’lláh, 79.

‘Ağdu’d-Dawla Fanákhusráw b. Ruknu’d-Dawla -Hasan b. Buwayh (A. D. 949—982), 87—91, 158, 210, 223, 225, 226. See also *Fanákhusráw*.

‘Ağdu’d-Dawla, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn-Mu'ayyad bi’lláh — b. Ḥus. b. Hárún b. Ḥus. b. M. b.-Q. b. Ḥus. b. Zayd b. H. b. ‘A. b. Abí Tálib, 50, 51, 53, 54.

Afḍalu’d-Dín Máhabádí (XII²), 69.

Afrásiyáb, 18—20.

Afrásiyáb, Kiyá — of Chaláp (XIV¹), 268, 269.

Afrásiyáb (warden of Kúzá, XIII¹), 256.

Afshín (IX¹), 155, 156.

-Aghání, *Kitábu'l-* —, 103.

Aghúshí, the Turk (X¹), 215.

*Ahár, 14.

*Ahlam (on coast, N. of Amul; Mel. 151, 208), 22, 28, 34, 191.

Ahmad ɬb. ‘Abdu'l-‘Azíz b. Abí Dulaf -Ijlí (governor of Iráq, IX²), 191.

Ahmad b. ‘Abdi’lláh-Khujistání (governor of Níshápúr, IX²), 185.

A. b. Ḥanbal (VIII²), 125.

A. b. Ḥasan (IX²), 170.

A. Abu'l-Ḥusayn (son of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, *q.v.*), 49.

A. b. ‘Isá b. ‘Alí b. -Hasan (IX²), 178, 183, 184.

A. b. Isma‘il -Sámání (X¹), 195—199, 201.

A. Jál, Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín — (XIV¹), 265, 266.

A. b. M. b. Aws (governor of Jálús, IX¹), 157, 158, 168.

A. b. M. b. Ibr. -Qá’im, “Ṣáḥibu'l-Ḥaysh”, Sayyid — (IX²), 187—189, 200—205.

- Ahmad b. M. b. Maliksháh, Malik — (XI²), 244, 245.
- A. b. M. -Sikní (IX²), 179—181.
- A. b. M.-^cUmarí (X¹), 220.
- A. b. Núh b. *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* (X¹), 198, 199.
- A. b. Q., Abu'd-Darghám (governor of Sári, X¹), 199.
- A. b. Rasúl (X¹), 216.
- A.-Sa'^dí (servant of Qábús, X²—XI¹), 92.
- A. b. Sálár (agent of Washmír, X¹), 218.
- A. b. Sálih -Dimishqí (authority cited by -Aşma'^cí), 159.
- A.-Tawíl (X¹), 207.
- Abú A. Zanrás (or *Zanrúshán*) of Naşrábád (X¹), 198.
- Abú A. (Qádí of Rúyán, put to death by Mázyár, (IX¹), 151.
- Ahnaf (contemporary of 'Alí b. Abí Tálib, VI¹), 180.
- "Ahúsh" — "Death", 26.
- 'Ahwáz, 33.
- ^cA'isha Kargílí Dízh (near Aram, on the top of Darband-i-Kúla), 121.
- Ibn ^cA'isha, 108.
- Akharyár, father of Isfáhí, *q. v.* (X¹), 221.
- *Akhlát, 252.
- Akwán Dív, 35.
- *Alamút, 206, 216, 240 (derivation), 258, 259.
- Alandáy-i- [Qárin-i-] Sukhrá, 43, 125.
- ^cAlaqí, Abu'l-^cAb.-Faqíh — (X¹), 215.
- *Aláraš (near shore of Caspian), 42.
- ^cAlá'u'd-Dawla ^cA. Qárin b. Ḫusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin (XI²—XII¹), 242—245.
- ^cAlá'u'd-Dawla ^cA. b. Ḫusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír (XIII²), 261, 268.
- ^cAlá'u'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Rustam b. ^cAlí (XII²), 67, 247.
- ^cAlá'u'd-Dawla b. Sháh Ghází Rustam (XII¹), 249.
- ^cAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad (*wazír* of Ṭughá-Tímúr (XIV¹), 264.
- ^cAlá b. Sa'^cíd of Sind (IX¹), 4.
- Abu'l-^cAlá-Mihrawání (jurisconsult and poet), 79.

- Abu'l-'Alá -Sarwí (or -Sarawí: see above, p. 284, under *'Abdu'lláh b. Faḍlawayh*: IX²), 50.
- ^cAlawí Mahdí (warden of Alamút, XI²), 240.
- Alexander the Great, 35, 41.
- *Alexandria, 252.
- ^cAlí-ábád (S. of road between Báfurúsh and Sári), 80, 215.
- ^cAlí 'Alá'u'd-Dawla b. Ardashír (XIII²), 261, 268.
- ^cAlí 'Alá'u'd-Dawla b. Shahriyár (XI²—XII¹), 242—245.
- ^cA. b. Aws (IX²), 162, 163.
- ^cA. b. Buwayh (X¹), 210, 223. See *'Imádu'd-Dawla*.
- ^cA. b.-Faraj (IX²), 169.
- ^cA. Gilkhwárán Sábiqu'd-Dawla (VI), 65.
- ^cA. b. Ḥarb (IX), 167.
- ^cA. b. H. -Marwazí (IX²), 190.
- ^cA. Abu'l-Ḥasan of Ray (author of *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*), 35.
- ^cA. Hawákhún (? Mawákhún: XIV¹), 264.
- ^cA. b. Ḥus. b. ^cA. b. Abí Tálíb (the Fourth Imám of the Shí'ites, generally known as "Zaynu'l-'Abídín", VIII¹), 11.
- ^cA. b. Ibr. -Jílí (IX²), 164.
- ^cA. b. 'Isa (VIII²), 5, 138.
- ^cA. b. Ja'far -Rází (X¹), 206.
- ^cA. b. Justán (or *Justán*; VIII²), 123.
- *^cAlí Kaláwa (quarter of Amul), 77.
- ^cA. Káwán, Shaykh — (XIV¹), 264.
- ^cAlí b. Khurshíd (X¹), 209—212, 214.
- ^cA. Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb (XIV¹), 269.
- ^cA. -Maghribí (IX²), 167.
- ^cA. b.-Mahdí b.-Mansúr -'Abbási, 51. See *Ibn Sukkara*.
- ^cA. b. Mansúr (IX²), 172.
- ^cA. b. Mardáwíj "Táju'l-Mulúk" (XII), 66.
- ^cA. b. Muḥammad -Hádí -'Askarí, Imám — (IX), 158, 159.
- ^cA. b. M.-Kúfi, 159.
- ^cA. b. M.-Nadím (IX), 159.

- ‘A. b. Músá -Riḍá, Imám — (poisoned by -Ma’múن, IX¹), 53, 55, 79, 144.
- ‘A. b. Naṣr (IX²), 163.
- ‘A. b. Níkáma (x), 222.
- ‘A. Píruza, Ustád — (Ṭabarí poet, x²), 87, 88.
- ‘A. Qumí Darzí b. Harúsandán (X¹), 207.
- ‘A. Riḍá (chamberlain of the Ispahbad Rustam, XII), 65.
- ‘A. Sábíqu'd-Dawla, Amír — (VII), 247, 249.
- ‘A. Sháh (governor of Dámghán, XII²), 255, 256.
- ‘A. b. Sháh Ghází Rustam (XII), 250.
- ‘A. -Shá'ir b. -Sayyid -Násir -Kabír (IX), 49.
- ‘A. b. Surkháb (IX²), 188, 193.
- ‘A. -Ṭabarí, Ustád —, 90.
- ‘Alí b. Abí Tálíb (VII), 12, 13, 36, 48, 50, 51, 52, 70, 100—103, 108, 109, 111, 112, 144, 158, 161, 175, 178, 180, 242.
- ‘A. b Wahsúdán (X¹), 206
- ‘A. b. Zarrín-Kamar (XII¹), 59.
- ‘A. b. Zayn (properly *Rabban*) -Kátib (IX¹), 35, 43, 80.
- Abú ‘Alí b. Aḥmad b. M. -Mudhaffarí (X¹), 218.
- Abú ‘A. Fáris (philologist, X²), 90.
- Abú ‘Alí Ḥamúla (X²), 229—230.
- Abú ‘A. b. Ḥ. Símjúr (X¹), 208, 227, 234.
- Abú ‘A. b. Iṣfahán (X¹), 210, 216, 219.
- Abú ‘A. -Kátib (X¹), 220. .
- Abú ‘A. -Khalífa (X¹), 217.
- Abú ‘A. M. b. A. b. Ḥ. (X¹), 209—211.
- Abú ‘A. Muslim (X²), 224.
- *Alísha-rúd, 261.
- Alp Arslán (XI²), 236, 239.
- Alptagín (X²), 227.
- “Amatu'r-Rahmán” (daughter of the Ispahbad Khurshíd, married to ‘Abbás b. Muḥammad -Háshímí, who thus named her), 121.

- Ibnu^l-‘Amíd Abu^l-Faḍl M. b. -Hus. -Qumí (X¹), 219, 222.
 -Amín b. Hárún -Rashíd (IX¹), 143.
 ‘Amir b. Adam (VIII²), 123. .
 ‘Amir b. ‘Abd Qays, 10.
 Amír Mú^lmin (XIV¹), 262.
 “Amír-i-Zarrín” (“the Golden Amír”, the Ispahbad Bahá^ud-Dín so named), 252.
 ‘Ammár b. Yásir (contemporary of ‘Alí b. Abí Ṭálíb, VII¹), 12.
 Abu^l-‘Ammár -‘Atiqí (VIII²), 122.
 ‘Amr (? ‘Umar) b. -‘Alá (VIII²), 120, 124, 125, 130, 131.
 ‘Amr b. Baḥr -Jáhidh (IX), 6, 110.
 *‘Amr (? ‘Umar) -ábád and -kaláda, 125.
 ‘Amr b. Layth -Şaffárí (IX²), 189, 191—193, 238.
 Abú ‘Amr (“the poet of Ṭabaristán”, IX²), 41, 47.
 *‘Amul, 4, 19, 20, 25—29, 32—34, 37, 39, 40, 48, 49, 56,
 70, 73, 75—77, 82, 83, 89, 95, 98, 99, 115, 120,
 122—124, 128—130, 132, 141, 149—153, 164, 165,
 167—171, 174, 176, 178, 179, 181—183, 187—190,
 192, 194, 196—200, 202—219, 221—223, 228, 241—245,
 247, 248, 251—253, 256—257, 262, 265, 266, 269.
 Amula (legendary queen from whom the town of Amul
 is supposed to derive its name), 25.
 *Amúriya, 156.
 ‘Anátur b. Bakhtánsháh (IX²), 169, 172.
 *Anbár, 134, 135.
 Anbárak (grandfather of Abu^l-Hasan b. Hárún -Faqíh,
 converted to Islám), 26.
 Abu^l-‘Anbas -Dámírí (parodist, IX²), 160.
Ansábu Ashráfi^l-Amṣár (by Ibn Ṭabáṭabá al-‘Alawí), 47.
 *Anúshadádhán, 196.
 Anúshirwán (Khusraw or Kisrá — the Sásánian, vi). See
 Núshirwán.
 Anúshirwán Hazár-mardí (IX²), 169.

- Anúshirwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábus b. Washmgír (xi¹), 236.
 Anwarí (the poet, XII), 66.
^cAqíl b. Abí Tálib, descendant of —, 215.
^cAqíl b. Mabrúr (ix²), 163.
^c-Aqíqí, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Ja^cfar — (ix²—x¹), 174, 200.
 *Arabia, 66, 69, 79.
 Arabs, 5, 15, 27, 85, 93, 97, 98, 101, 104, 105, 106, 126,
 155, 223, 226, 228, 237.
^cArafa, Day of —, 53.
 *Aram (Dorn 1 in Index, p. 568), 59, 121, 128, 200, 241, 245.
 *Ārarm, Ārazm (probably scribe's errors for Aram), 28.
 *Arbanú (village one day's march from Ray), 142.
 *Ardabil, 33, 59.
 *Ardashír-ábád, 268.
 Ardashírak Bablúraj (cowherd, VIII), 127.
 Ardashír Bábakán (the founder of the Sásánian Dynasty,
 A. D. 226), 1, 4, 7.
 Ardashír Husámu^d-Dawla b. Ḥasan ^cAlá^ud-Dawla b.
 ^cAlí, Ispahbad — (XII²), 3, 4, 17, 25, 55, 67—73,
 115, 204, 246—251, 254, 255, 258.
 Ardashír b. Kínhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár,
 Malik Husámu^d-Dawla — (XIII), 256, 257, 258, 268.
 Arghún Sháh (XIV¹), 264.
 Arish (a legendary hero, celebrated for his skill in archery), 18—20.
 Arjásf (XII²), 251, 252.
 *Armenia, 97.
 *Arrán, 45, 244, 252, 254.
 Arslán, Amír — (XII²), 251.
 Arslán Bálú (x²), 227.
 Arslán Hindú-bacha (xi¹), 231.
 Arslán Jádhib (variants: Hajib and Hárib, XI¹), 234.
 *Artá (Mel. 294, l. 19, 300), 123.
 Asad b. Jandán (IX²), 157, 166, 167, 169.

- As'adu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, called *dīwána*, "the madman" (xii²), 65.
- Asatakín the Turk (governor of Ray, ix²), 189.
- Ibn Abi'l-Āṣbagh (ix²), 192.
- Asfár b. Kurdúya (x²), 229.
- Asfár b. Shírúya (x¹), 209, 210, 212—216.
- Ash'arí, Abu'l-Hasan — (allusion to doctrines of — in an Arabic verse), 21.
- Ash'ath b. Qays (vii), 102.
- *Ashílá-Dasht (near Āmul), 194.
- Ashkálí (father of Zarhawájastán, x²—xi¹), 230.
- *Ashtád (or Ushtád: see Mel. 201: name of a village near Āmul, and of its founder), 20, 21, 24, 163.
- *Asia Minor, 247. See also *Rúm*.
- *Así Vísha (4 parasangs from Āmul), 37.
- *Ask (mountain village in district of Láriján: Mel. 24, 208), 36.
- *Askar (place celebrated for locusts), 33.
- Askarí, Imám -Hasan b. 'Alí — (ix²), 50.
- Aṣma'í (the philologist, ix¹), 136, 159.
- *Aṣram, 122, 127, 128.
- *Asrán, 242.
- *Asrámíl, 122.
- "Ass", "Year of the —", 110.
- Assassins, 64, 66, 75, 76, 240, 241, 243, 245, 256, 258, 259.
- *Astána-saráy (Āmul), 25.
- *Astarábád, 28, 56, 77, 84, 86, 95, 167, 169, 170, 172, 177, 181, 186, 201, 204, 207, 214, 219, 221, 222, 226, 228, 232, 238, 246, 265.
- Astarábádí (author of the *Manhaju'l-Maqál*), 11, 271.
- Atábek Qarája (guardian of Seljúqsháh, xii¹), 245.
- *Atash-Kúh, Castle of —, in Khurásán, 240.
- Ibnu'l-Athír (xiii¹), 235, 240.
- *Atrábin (Maydán of —, in Sárf), 241, 249.

- ‘Attáb b. Warqá -Shaybání (IX), 157.
 -‘Attábí (poet, IX), 9.
 ‘Aṭṭáf b. Abi’l-‘Aṭṭáf of Syria (IX), 169.
 Atsiz Khwárazmsháh (XII), 62.
 Avicenna (Shaykh Abú ‘Alí b. Síná, x²—xi¹), 86.
 *Āwa, 244.
 *cAwámma-kúy, 57, 81.
 Awhadu’d-Dahr-Dánishí (astronomer), 87.
 *Awhar (Sárfí), 17.
 Abú ‘Awn b. ‘Abdu’lláh (VIII), 120.
 *Awrárábád (above Parícha), 123.
 *Awsarzín, 123.
 ‘Aynu’d-Dawla Siyáh (XII), 251.
 *Aywa, 252.
 Abú Ayyúb -Múriyání (*wasír* of -Manṣúr, VIII²), 113.
 Azáriqa, 104. See Khárijites.
 Azarmí Dukht (Sásánian Queen, vi¹), 96.
 · Azarmí Dukht “Gíráñ Gúshwár”, daughter of the Ispah-
 bad Farrukhán, 116, 121.
 Azbar b. Janáh (IX²), 172.
 *Azdara, 122.
 Azhidaháka, 36. See Idahák (Idáhhák).
 ‘Azíz b. ‘Abdu’lláh (IX), 169.
 ‘Azíz -Tughra’í (XI), 62.
 Bábak (IX¹), 153, 155.
 *Bábil, Khaṭíra-i- —, 156.
 *Bábul (or Báwul) River, 16.
 *Badakhshán, 95.
 *Badhandún, 152 *ad calc.*
 *Baghdád, 3, 33, 49, 51, 71, 74, 75, 79, 87, 91, 117, 118, 122,
 125, 126, 131, 133, 136, 138, 143, 147, 149, 150,
 153, 156, 157, 161, 179, 194, 197, 206, 223, 224, 236,
 243, 246, 259, 263.

- *Bá-Hamrá, 53.
- Bahá'u'd-Dawla, Amír Hassán — (XII), 245.
- Bahá'u'd-Dín. See Hasan b. Mahdí -Mámtírí.
- Bahá'u'd-Dín, Ispahbad — (XII), 252.
- Bahistún (or Bisutún) b. Washmgír (X²), 225.
- Bahrám Chúbín (VI²), 35, 96, 237.
- *Bahrám Dih, 123.
- Bahrám Gúr (V¹), 94.
- Bahrám-i-Fíruz (VIII²), 131.
- Bahrámsháh of Ghazna (XII²), 58.
- Bahrír (servant of -Mutawakkil, IX), 159, 160.
- Bahrú'l-Fawdíd*, by 'Alí b. Zayn -Kátib (IX¹), 80.
- *Bákharz, 264.
- Bákharzí, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b.-H. b. 'A. b. Abi't-Tayyib
(author of the *Dumyatú'l-Qaṣr*; XI), 77, 78, 86.
- Bakhtiyár Mu'izzu'd-Dawla (X²), 91.
- *Bakr-ábád (in Gurgán), 186.
- Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz -Ijlí (IX²), 48, 192.
- Bakr b. Málík, Abu Sa'íd — (X²), 224.
- Abú Bakr Dirázgúsh -Rází (XII²), 253.
- Abú Bakr b. Ilísá^c (X¹), 214, 217.
- Abú Bakr -Khwárazmí (X²), 90.
- Abú Bakr b. Muḥammad "Jahán-Pahlawán" b. Ildigiz, Atábek — (XII²—XIII¹), 254.
- Abú Bakr Zakariyyá (X¹), 215.
- Abú Bakr -Zifrí (X¹), 207.
- Baktakín (chamberlain of Majdu'd-Dawla, X²), 230.
- Baládhuri's *Futūku'l-Buldān*, 27, 100.
- *Bálá'ín, 168.
- Bal'amí, Abu'l-Faḍl M. b. 'Abdu'lláh — (IX²—X¹), 199, 200.
- *Bálá-ráh, 123.
- *Balásághún, 236.
- Balásh-i-Píruz (Sásánian King, V²), 94, 96, 99. See also *Valásh*.

- Bálí b. Farrukh-Ádín, 37.
 *Balíkání (near Ámul), 164.
 *Balkh, 21, 22, 25, 94, 138, 227.
 *Balqa^c, 54.
 Bámdádán (father of Mazdak, VI), 93.
 *Banafsh (between Ámul and Jálús), 188.
 *Banafsha-Gún, 248.
 *Bá-Naṣrán (in Tammísha), 16.
 *Bá Naṣrí Mash-had (in Sárfí), 144.
 *Báqilí-pazán, Maydán-i-Rúdbár — (Ámul), 262.
 *Baqfūl-Gharqad (cemetery at al-Madína), 71.
 *Baqrá-Kaláta, Ispahbad's palace (Ámul), 247.
 Baraka (brother of Şadaqa, Amír of Hilla and “king of the Arabs”; XII), 60.
 Bárbad-i-Jarídí (Tabarí poet, XII), 65.
 Barbier de Meynard, 4.
 *Bárfurúsh, 28.
 Bári^c-i-Jurjání, 79.
 Bárkala (XII²), 252.
 Barmak, Al-i—, or House of — (“Barmecides”, VIII²—IX¹), 124, 133, 134, 140; *History of* — (*Ta'rikh-i-Bará-miká*), 39.
 Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh (Seljúq, XI²—XII¹), 240.
 Bashár (mother of Adhar-valásh, VII), 98.
 *Báshír (near Ámul), 199.
 *Başra, 33, 100, 111, 180.
 Bátí b. Sa'íd (X²—XI¹), 228, 230, 239.
 Báw (or Báv), son of Shápúr, son of Kayús, and contemporary of Khusraw Parwíz and Bahrám Chubín (VI²), ancestor of the Báwands (Bávands) or “House of Báw”, 17, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 236, 268.
 Báwands, House of Báw, 5, 34, 58 *et seqq.*, 65, 91, 93, 95, 140, 145, 149, 225, 239, 255, 257, 263, 269—270.
 *Báwandán, Palace of —, 17.

- Báwand-náma*, 3.
- *Báv-awíján, 17.
- *Báward, 123, 223.
- *Bayárú-Kamand, 264.
- Báyazíd -Bistámí (Şúfi saint, IX), 10.
- Bayyá‘í, Abu'l-Qásim — Qádi'l-qudát, 77.
- Bazghash (one of Sanjar's *amírs*, XII¹), 246.
- Bekcheri (one of Sunqur's *amírs*, XII¹), 241.
- *Bíjúrf (var. Machúrf), 28.
- Abú Bilál, 103.
- Binán b.-Hasan (x), 220.
- Bindú'è (uncle of Khusraw Parwíz, VI²), 35.
- Bírúní, Abú Rayhán — (x²), 14.
- *Bísha-i-Nár (Tammísha), 16.
- Bísitún b. Tíjásaf (circ. A. D. 1000), 229, 231.
- Bistám (= Gustahm), uncle of Khusraw Parwíz (VI²), 35.
- *Bistám, 60, 66, 68, 81, 207, 208, 232, 255.
- “Bí-Tawba” (“the Unrepentant”, nickname of M. Abu Tawba, XIII), 81.
- Bíwar-asp (title of Dahák or Daḥhák, *q. v.*), 16, 36.
- *Biyár, 231.
- Bízhan, 39.
- Bizíst b. Fírúzán (= Yahyá b. -Manṣúr, IX), 87, 147, 148, 149.
- Brockelmann, 6.
- *Buḥayra, 134.
- Buhturí, Abú 'Ubáda — (poet, IX), 159—160.
- Abu'l-Buhturí, Qádí — (IX¹), 141, 142.
- *Bukhárá, 82, 91, 193, 194, 197—201, 206, 207, 213, 215, 219, 221, 224, 227, 241.
- *Bulghár, 33.
- Bundár b. Múní (IX), 156.
- Búqá b. Seljúq (XI¹), 235.
- *Búrábád, 200.
- *Búrán (plain of —, near Amul), 265.

- Burhán, Qádí — (xii²), 254.
 -Burqa'í, Sayyid — (ix²), 180.
 Buwayh, House of —, or Buwayhids, 5, 19, 90, 99, 158,
 208, 210, 217, 218, 220, 222, 223, 225, 235, 237, 238.
 Buzurjmihr (VI), 32, 85.
 Byzantines, or “Romans”, 145, 147, 150, 152, 156, 236.

- Cæsar, 7.
 Calf, Golden —, 9.
 Chagániyán. See *Şighániyán*.
Chahár Maqála (of Nidhámí -^cArúdí -Samarqandí, xii), 1,
 185, 219, 238, 239.
 *Cháh-i-Víjan (“Bízhan’s Well”, near Ummídwár-Kúh), 39.
 *Chaláp, 15, 268, 269. See also *Shaláb*.
 *Chamanú, 123. See *Jamanú*, infra, and Mel. 57.
 *Chashma-Rúd (in Daylamán), 199.
 .-Chashmí, 53 *ad calc.*
 -*China, 16.
 Chingíz Khan (xiii¹), 258.
 Christ, 91. See *Masih*.
 Christians, 75, 91.
 Chúbán, Amír Tálísh — (xiv¹), 262.
 *Cilicia, 152.
 *Ctesiphon. See *-Mada'ın*.

 -Dabírí, M. b. — (x¹), 220.
 Dabuwán (old family of Tabaristán), 95.
 Dábúya-i-Gíl-i-Fírúz-i-Narsí-i-Jámásp (vii¹), 98, 99.
 *Dádaqán, Qaṣr-i — (between Tammísha and Sári), 114.
 Dádawayh, called al-Muqaffá^c (father of 'Abdulláh b.
 -Muqaffá^c, viii), 5.
 Dád-Habash b. Altúntásh, Amír — (xi²), 240.
 Dahák (= Dahák or “Zohák”), 15, 16, 36, 94. See also
 Azhidaháka and *Bíwarasp*.

*Dahistán (Dihistán), 18.

-Dá'i, Abu'l-Fadl — (x¹), 203.

-Dá'i ila ḥaqq b. -Hádí, Kiyá Buzurg — (vi¹), 246, 251.

-Dá'i. This title was borne by three of the four 'Alawí Sáyyids who ruled over Tabaristán from A. D. 864—928. The first, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Isma'il "Jálibū'l-Hijára" b. -H. b. Zayd b. -H. b. 'Alí b. Abí Tálib (A. D. 864—883), seems to have been entitled simply *ad-Dá'i*. The second, M. b. Zayd, brother of him last mentioned, was entitled *ad-Dá'i ila'l-Haqq* (p. 195) or *ad-Dá'i'l-Kabír* (p. 187). He was followed by Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír, called *ath-Thá'ir* ("the Avenger", p. 195); and he in turn by Sayyid Abú M. -H. b. -Q. b. -H. b. 'A. b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ash-Shajarí b. Q. b. H. b. Zayd b. -H. b. 'A. b. Abí Tálib, called also *ad-Dá'i ila'l-Haqq*, or *ad-Dá'i'l-Saghír*. See under these names, and also pp. 47, 48, 158, 187—194, 195, 203, 204, 212—216, 237, 245, 252.

Dakiyya (the Daylamite, IX²), 183.

*Damáwand, Mount — 15, 16, 29, 35, 36, 104, 165, 167, 217, 218, 219, 222, 230, 240, 249.

*Dámghán, 14, 60, 66, 68, 189, 208, 219, 240, 243, 246, 255.

-Dámírí, Abu'l-'Anbas — (parodist, IX), 160.

*Danakí (near Jamanú), 41.

-Dánishí, Awḥadu'd-Dahr — (astronomer), 87.

Daqíqí (x; reference uncertain), 85.

Dárá (Darius, the last Achæmenian king), 35.

Dára b. Rahmáan, Ispáhbad Naṣíru'd-Dawla — (XII), 249.

*Dárá, Castle of — (*Dízh-i-Dárá*), 255.

Dárá, Ispahbad Majdu'd-Dín — (XII²), 249.

Dárá b. Qábús b. Washmgír (X²—XI¹), 227, 234, 235.

Dárá b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín (X²), 239.

*Dárán, 101.

- "*Dáránjan kardan*" (? to strew the ground with "crows' feet" to check the advance of cavalry), 107, 221.
- *Darband, 97, 221.
- *Darband-i-Shínúh, 247.
- Abu'ḍ-Darghám Ah̄mad b. Qásim (governor of Sári, X¹), 199.
- Dárgíl (XII¹), 247.
- *Dar-i-Júr (one of the gates of Amul), 213.
- *Dárim, 35.
- Darfr, Abú Muqátil — (poet, IX²), 175, 176.
- Darís (VIII), 106.
- Dáristán, Ispíd —, 67.
- Darkala, Atábek —, 252.
- *Darlabash, Quarter of —, 80.
- Darmesteter, Professor James — 1, 6, 7, 14.
- Ibn Darrám (? Warrám), Amír —, 79.
- Darzí Qumí, or 'Alí Qumí Darzí (X¹), 207, 208.
- Dá'úd b. Q.-Ja'farí, Sayyid Abú Háshim — (IX), 161.
- Dá'úd -Yazdí (IX¹), 4.
- Abú Dá'úd (X¹), 217, 218.
- *Dawlatábád (palace near Sári), 69, 254.
- Dawlatsháh (XV), 79.
- *Dawmatu'l-Jandal, 101.
- *Daylam, 20, 23, 49, 50, 53, 54, 61, 97, 100, 106, 121, 164, 168, 169, 188, 190, 194—196, 199, 201, 209, 214—216, 218, 221, 223, 226, 228, 229, 232, 238, 244, 248, 251, 252.
- *Daylamán, 49, 50, 53, 54, 61, 106, 164, 168, 169, 190, 194, 195, 199, 201, 215, 216, 218, 221, 223, 226, 244, 248, 251, 252.
- Daylamites, 99, 107, 132, 149, 164, 166, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 177, 179, 181—185, 187, 188, 190, 196, 200, 205, 207, 213, 219, 223, 226, 228—230, 232, 233, 238, 244, 246. See also *Buwayh, House of* —.
- Daylamí the son of Farrukhán (IX²), 164.

- Dázamihr, Ispahbad — (VIII), 46, 109, 169.
- Dervish Orders, First appearance of — in Mázandarán, 267.
- Dhahíru'd-Dín ("Sehir-ed-Din" of Dorn, XV²), 1, 14—21, 23—26, 28, 43, 44, 47.
- Dhahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí (poet, XII), 71—73, 263.
- Dhahíru'd-Dín Nassába, Sayyid — of Gurgán, 57.
- Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, 86.
- Dhaylu'l-Mudhayyal* (of -Tabarí), 74.
- Dhu'l-Manáqib (= Farrukhán-i-Buzurg, *q. v.*), 99.
- Dhu'r-Riyásatayn (IX), 198, 213, 214.
- *Dih-i-Fulúl (in Láriján), 67, 68.
- *Dihistán, 18, 181, 182, 193.
- Díkú, daughter of Isfahán, 210, 216.
- *Dilam (near Kalár), 39.
- *Dínár-jarí, Dínár-jay, Dínár-zári, 14, 28, 57.
- *Dínár-Kafshín, 17.
- Dirázgúsh, Abú Bakr — 253.
- Díwán-i-Waṣl, 69.
- Díwarwaz Mastamard (Tabarí poet, X), 87—89.
- *Diz (or Dizh)-i-Dárá, 35.
- *Diz-(or Dizh)-Kúh (near Isfahán), 241, *ad calc.*
- *Diz-(or Dizh)-i-Rashkán (near Ray), 19.
- *Dizwán (in Panjáh-hazár), 122.
- *“Dome of the Cross-roads” (*Gunbuh-r-Chársú*), 77.
- Dorn, 1, 14, 17, 18. See also Dhahíru'd-Dín.
- Dragon, Contest between Sám-i-Naríman and —, 41.
- *Dú-áb, 122, 172.
- *Dúdán (between Sári and Tarchí or Tarícha), 166.
- Duhalí, Hammál b. Umar — (VIII), 126.
- *Dúláb, 166.
- *Dúládár, 221.
- *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr (of -Bákharzí, *q. v.*), 78, 86.
- *Dunbáwand, 29. See *Damdwand*.
- Ibn Durayd (X¹), 110.

- *Egypt, 33, 69, 91, 247.
- Ethé, Dr. Hermann — I, 238.
- Ethiopian (Zanj), 180.
- *Euphrates, 236.
- Ezra, 110.

- *Fadak (estate of Fátima), 108.
- Faḍl b. Ja'far (IX²), 192.
- Faḍl b. Marzubán (IX²), 179.
- Faḍl b. Rabí^c (IX), 9, 136, 139.
- Faḍl-i-Rafiqí (IX²), 164, 173.
- Faḍl b. Yaḥyá -Barmakí (IX), 133, 135.
- Abu'l-Faḍl b. 'Amíd, 90.
- Abu'l-Faḍl-Dá'í, 203.
- Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'íl b. [-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b.] Muḥammad -Músawí -Jurjání (XII¹), 86.
- Abu'l-Faḍl, Ispahbad — (X²), 228.
- Abu'l-Faḍl M. b. 'Al.-Bal'amí (q. v.), 199.
- Abu'l-Faḍl M. b. Ḥus., known as Ibnu'l-'Amíd (q. v.), 90.
- Abu'l-Faḍl -Ráwandí (XII²), 69.
- Abu'l-Faḍl Shágird (X¹), 217.
- Abu'l-Faḍl -Thá'ir -'Alawí, 222, 223.
- Fahrán (VIII), 115.
- Fá'iq, 226, 227.
- *Fajam, 200.
- *-Fakhkh, 53, 124.
- . Fakhr b. 'Abdu'lláh -Khuzá'í (VIII²), 122.
- Fakhri, 108, 109,
- Fakhru'd-Dawla, the Buwayhid (X²), 19, 225, 226, 237.
- Fakhru'd-Dawla Garshásf (XII¹), 246, 247.
- Fakhru'd-Dawla Ḥ. b. Sháh Kay-Khusraw (XIV¹), 263—269.
- Fakhru'l-Islám. See 'Abdu'l-Wáhid b. Isma'íl.
- Fakhru'l-Mulük (or -Mulk) Rustam b. Shahriyár b. Qárin (XI²), 241.

Falaku^{ūl}-Ma^cálí (IX¹). See *Minúchihr b. Qábús*.

*Falás, 195.

Fálízbán (IX²), 164.

Fanákhusraw ('Aḍudu'd-Dawla) b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan
b. Buwayh (X), 90, 158, 210, 223, 225. See also
'Aḍudu'd-Dawla and *Buwayh, House of* —.

Fana-i-Wandá-ummíd (IX), 165, 168—170.

Fannáq (or Fayyáq), 'Umar — (VII²—VIII¹), 101.

Faqíh-i-Al-i-Muhammad (XII²), 69, 79.

Abu^{ūl}-Faraj 'Alí b. Husayn b. Hindú (scholar and poet, XI¹),
54, 77, 78, 110.

Abu^{ūl}-Faraj Mudhaffar b. Isma'íl (jurisconsult and scholar), 79.

Abu^{ūl}-Faraj Rashíd b. 'Abdu'lláh -Astarábádí (physician, X²—
XI¹), 86.

Farámarz, Qiwám — (XII²), 65.

Farán, Farghán, or Farghána, Devil of — (Sálim, officer
of al-Mahdí, slain by Wandád Hurmazd, VIII²), 43, 26.

Fárasha (or Firásha, but the first form is supported by
Ṭabarí, III, 521, l. 10: officer or client of al-Mahdí,
nicknamed as above, VIII²), 43, 44, 128, 129.

Faríburz (contemporary of the legendary king Kay-Khus-
raw), 17.

*Farím (or Parím, *q. v.*, or Firim in Mel., p. 59), 29, 95,
123, 126, 148, 170, 237, 242, 243.

Fáris (governor of Gurgán, X¹), 197, 198.

Farrukh Adín, 37.

Farrukhán-i-Buzurg ("the Great Farrukhán", VII²—VIII¹),
17, 27, 30, 45, 99, 100, 101, 104, 106, 109.

Farrukhán-i-Gushnasp-i-Sárúya.

*Farrukhán-Fíruz, Mountain of —, 114.

*Fárs. See *Párs*.

*Farshwádgar (Patashkhwár), 14, 35, 91, 97, 149, 161.

Farshwád-Marzubán, Khurshíd — (VIII), 113.

"Farshwádgar-Sháh", Gil-Gílan — (VII¹), 97.

Fáryábí, Dhahíru'd-Dín — (poem by, XII), 71—73.

*Fatḥ, فصل, 123.

Abu'l-Fatḥ b. Abi'l-Fadl (scholar), 90.

Fátima (daughter of the Prophet, VII¹), 108

Fátima (daughter of Aḥmad, wife of Isma'īl ('-A.) -'Alawī, X¹), 216.

Abu'l-Fawáris b. 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid (XI¹), 234—235.

Fayyáq (or Fannáq), 'Umar — (VII²), 101, 104.

Ferídún, 15—18, 34, 60, 94.

Fihrist of -Túsí, 11, 12.

Fihrist of Ibnu'l-Warráq, 26.

*Fímat, 263.

Abú Firás, Amír — (x, verses cited), 111.

Firásha. See *Farásha*.

Firdawsí (XI¹), 1, 16, 18, 85, 238.

Firdawsu'l-Hikmat (by 'Alí b. Rabban al-Kátib), 35, 80.

¶ Fíruz. See *Píruz*.

Fíruz (chamberlain of the Ispahbad Khurshíd, VIII²), 118.

Fíruz (King of Balkh), 21, 27, 32.

*Fíruz-ábád, 27; Castle of —, 99.

Fíruzán (father of Hasan and grandfather of him next mentioned, X¹), 196.

Fíruzán b. Ḥasan b. Fíruzán (X²), 228, 229, 239.

*Fíruz-Kanda, 27.

*Fíruz-Khusra, Castle of — (afterwards Fíruz-ábád), 99.

*Fíruz-Kúh (dyke), 40, 165, 255.

Fíruz-i-Narsí (VII), 97.

Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, 76.

*Fulúl, Dih-i— (in Láriján), 67, 68.

Ibn Fúrak (preacher, of Āmul, x²), 76, 77.

-Furhúdī, Khalíl b. Aḥmad — (VIII), 5.

-Futūḥ, *Kitábū'l-*—, of -Baládhurí, 27, 100.

Gabr, 107, 142, 186. See *Magian, Zoroastrian*.

Gabriel, Archangel —, 7, 52.

*Gandum-Kúb” (“the Corn-crusher”, nickname of Sultán Maḥmud the Seljúq, XII¹), 62.

*Ganjáwarúz, 263.

*Ganjína, Plain of —, 67.

Garshah, or Jarsháh (“king of the Mountains”), 14, 126.

Garshásf, Fakhru'd-Dawla — (XII¹), 246, 248.

Gátás (the five additional days of the old Persian year which are not included in the 12 months of thirty days each), 167.

*Gawázúnú, 128.

Gáwbára, 3, 96, 97, 99, 126, 237. See *Gil-gilán Farshwádgar-sháh*.

Gáw-Kaláda, 42.

Gayômarth (the Persian Adam), 14.

*Gázar-gáh (near Āmul), 209.

-Ghánimí, Abu'l-Abbás — (minister of Qábús, X²—XI¹), 92.

*Ghars, 234.

-Ghazálí, Muḥammad — (XI), 75.

Gházán Khán (XIII²—XIV¹), 263.

Ghází, Rustam Sháh-i— (XII), 59, 90, 245, 246, 249, 250.

*Ghazna, and Sultáns of —, 5, 58, 59, 93, 227, 231, 233, 234, 235.

Ghuraru'd-Durar (of Sayyid Murtaḍá), 103.

*Gíl, 50, 58, 97, 196, 200, 209, 214, 218, 219, 223, 240, 244, 247. See also *Gilán*.

*Gílán, 14, 25, 49, 58, 61, 67, 97, 98, 106, 115, 168, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 200—208, 217, 222, 223, 231, 236, 247, 252, 268.

Gílánsháh, 97, 122, 236.

Gíl-gílán Farshwádgar-sháh, 97. See also *Gawbára* above.

Gílá-gúr (X¹), 218.

*Gíláná-júy (canal), 115.

- “Girán-Gúshwár” (“She of the heavy ear-rings”, Azarmí-Dukht, daughter of Farrukhán, so called), 166.
- *Girda-zamín (four parasangs from Sári), 177.
- *Gird-i-Kúh (Assassin stronghold), 240, 258, 259.
- Gir-sháh (or Gar-shah, *q. v.*), 14 *ad calc.*
- de Goeje, 26, 27, 32, 74, 100.
- “Golden Amír” (Amír-i-Zarrín, *i. e.* the Ispahbad Bahá'u'd-Dín, XII²), 252.
- Greece, Greeks, 40, 95.
- *Gulpáyagán, 66, 244, 247.
- Gunduya-Zúma (aphrodisiac herb), 40.
- Gurdiya (sister of Bahrám Chúbín, *q. v.*), 35.
- *Gurgán, 14, 25—28, 54, 57, 60, 62, 89, 97, 105—108, 115, 120, 121, 131, 140, 177—184, 186—194, 197, 200, 203, 205—208, 210—214, 216—218, 220—223, 225—229, 231—234, 237, 241, 244, 245, 254, 263, 264.
- ¶ Gurgín-i-Mílád (legendary hero), 28.
- *Gúr-i-Dá'í (“The Tomb of the Dá'í”, *i. e.* Sayyid Muhammad b. Zayd), 193.
- Gúrígír (X), 220.
- “Gúrishbard, 163.
- “Gurívun” (Tabarí equivalent of *guribán* = Ar. *jayb*), 34.
- *Gúr-shír, 200.
- *Gúrshírad, 248. (This undoubtedly represents the same name as Gúrishbard above, and probably as Gúrshír and Qúrshírad, but I cannot identify the place, and have no means of deciding which form is correct).
- Gúr-tír (herb), 40.
- Gushnasp b. Más (IX²), 169, 172.
- Gushnasp-sháh. See *Fashnasf*.
- Gúshyár (IX²—X¹), 217.
- Gúshyár b. Lisán -Jílí (astronomer), 87.
- Gustahm, Malik-i-Mu'adhdham Sharafu'd-Dawla — (XIV), 265.

- Hádí (Caliph, VIII²) 53, 131, 132.
- Hádí b. Hání (governor of Ṭabaristán, VIII³), 132.
- Hájib b. Zurára -Tamímí (VI), 130.
- Hajjáj b. Yúsuf (VII²), 13, 101, 104, 105.
- Abu'l-Hajjáj. See *Mardáwij b. Ziyár*.
- Hájji Khalífa, 35.
- *Halawán, 123.
- *Hamadán, 87, 225, 252, 254.
- Hamása (of Abú Tamám), 103.
- Haml 'A'isha (child of Ja'far the Barmecide and 'Abbása, VIII²), 134.
- Hammád (VIII²), 128.
- Hammál b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz (VIII²), 132.
- Hammál b. 'Umar -Duhalí (VIII²), 126.
- Hamúla, Abú 'Alí — (X²—XI¹), 229, 230.
- Abú Hamza (VIII), 12.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad — (VIII²), 125.
- Abú Ḥanífa M. b. M. -Astarábádí, 79.
- Ibnu'l-Ḥanifíyya (VII²), 80.
- Abú Ḥarb b. Minúchihr (XII²), 247, 248, 249.
- *Harsa-mál (3 parasangs from Amul), 128.
- Harthama b. A'yan (IX¹), 142, 143.
- Hárún b. 'Alí Amulí, Abú Šádiq — (X¹), 74.
- Hárún b. Gharáb (cousin of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, X¹), 215.
- Hárún Isfahdúst, Abú Músá — (X¹), 206.
- Hárún b. Muḥammad, Abu'l-Qásim — (IX¹), 153.
- Hárunu'r-Rashíd (VIII²—IX¹), 17, 26, 43, 44, 45, 53, 132—137, 142—144, 237.
- Hárunu'l-Wáthiq (IX¹), 155.
- *Harúra, 102.
- Harúriyya sect (= Khawárij, or Khárijites), 102.
- Harúsandán-i-Tída (X¹), 202, 205, 207.
- Harúya, Ramja — (VIII²), 113—115.
- Hasan b. 'A. -'Askarí (eleventh Imám, IX²), 50.

- H. b. 'A. b. H. b. 'A. b. 'Amr b. 'A. Zaynu'l-'Abidin.
See *Nāṣir-i-Kabīr*.
- H. b. 'A. b. Abī Tālib (VII), 27, 48, 70, 98, 108.
- H. b. 'A., Sayyid Abū M. — See *Nāṣir-i-Kabīr*.
- H., Amīr — (servant of Najmu'd-Dawla, XII¹), 244.
- H. b. Bahrām, Caravansaray of — (at Sārif), 212.
- H.-Baṣrī (VIII), 13.
- H. b. Buwayh, Ruknu'd-Dawla — (X), 218, 220, 222, 223.
See *Ruknu'd-Dawla*.
- H. b. Fīrūzān (X¹), 196, 210, 214, 216, 219—222, 224, 225.
- H. b. Hamza (X), 12 *ad calc.*
- H. b. Ḥamza, Sayyid Abu'l-Q. —, 55—57.
- H. b. Hus. (brother of -Tāhir, IX¹), 154, 156, 157.
- H. b. Ishāq. See *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk*.
- H. b. Isma'īl (officer of M. b. 'Al. b. Tāhir, IX), 161.
- H. b. Ja'far -Aqīqī, Sayyid — (IX²), 174.
- H.-Jūrī, Shaykh — (spiritual director of Amīr Mas'ūd, XIV¹), 264.
- H. b. Mahdī -Māmṭīrī, Sayyid — (XII), 55, 68.
- H. b. M.-'Aqīqī (IX²), 174, 176, 177, 179, 181, 186. See also *Sāhibu'l-Ḥaysh*.
- H. —, Sayyid Abū M. —, 49. See *Nāṣir-i-Kabīr*.
- H. Qādī Kal (XIII²), 261.
- H. b. Q. (X¹), 200, 202—204, 206—209, 213. See *ad-Dā'i ilā'l-Ḥaqqa*.
- H. b. Rustam b. 'A., Ispahbad 'Alā'u'd-Dawla — (XII²), 67.
- H. b. Rustam, Sharafu'l-Mulūk — (XII²), 249.
- H. b. Ṣabbāḥ (the "Old Man of the Mountain", or founder of the Assassins, XI²), 240.
- H. b. Yaḥyā -Alawī, called *Kūchak*, 19.
- H. b. Zayd b. Isma'īl "Jálibu'l-Hijára" (IX²), 47, 161—187, 189, 200, 205.
- H. b. Zayd b. M. b. Zayd, Sayyid —, called *ad-Dā'i ilā'l-Ḥaqqa* (X¹), 194.

- Abu'l-H. (brother of -Násir, X¹), 223.
 Abu'l-H. 'Alí b., Músá, Imám — (IX¹), 70.
 Abu'l-H. 'A. (of Ray), 35 *ad calc.*
 Abu'l-H. b. Hárún -Faqíh (his grandfather converted to Is-lám, VIII²), 26.
 Abu'l-H. -Mámtírí (X¹), 220.
 Abu'l-H. M. See *Yazdádī*.
 Abu'l-H. Qábús, See *Qábús b. Washmágr*.
 Abu'l-H. b. Abí Yúsuf (X¹), 212.
 Háshim, House of —, 49, 178. See also *'Alí b. Abí Tálíb Sayyids* etc.
 Háshim -'Alawí, Sayyid — (XII²), 249.
 Háshim (gaoler of Yúsuf [b.] 'Umar ath-Thaqafí, VIII¹), 6
 Abú Háshim Dá'u'd b. Qásim -Ja'farí, Sayyid — (IX), 161.
 Abú Háshim Masrúr. See *Masrúr*.
 Hassán Bahá'u'd-Dawla, Amír — (governor of Ámul XII¹), 245.
 Hátim -Aşamm (Súfi saint), 10.
 Hawákhún (? Mawákhún), Amír 'Alí (XIV¹), 265.
 Hayátila (Huns), 94.
 Haydar b. Ká'u's (fellow-conspirator with Afshín and Bábak IX¹), 155.
 Haydar b. Sálár (Daylamite chief, X²), 230.
 Hayyán -Nabaťí, Abú Ya'mar — (VIII¹), 107.
 Hazárasp, Ustundár — (XII²), 251—253.
 *Hazár-garí, Hazár-jaríb (Mel., p. 175, etc.), 23, 29, 178, 185, 238.
 "Hazár-mard" (title), 128 *ad calc.*, 169.
 *Házima-Kúy (parish in Ámul), 34.
 *Herát, 226, 227, 264.
 *Hí-Hí-Kayán, 128.
 *-Hijáz, 58, 91, 124, 178, 223.
 Ibn Hilál -Šáblí, Abú Is-háq Ibráhím — (X²), 90, 223.
 *Hilla, 60, 79.

*Hirhiz (river), 25, 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. (In the last three places the text has "Hurmuz", but I have no doubt that حَرْز is a mistake for حُرْمَز. This river runs by the E. side of Amul. See Mel., 200, etc., and s. v. "Heraz" in his Index).

Hishám, Qádí — (author of macaronic verse), 81.

Hittán, 'Imrán b. — (Khárijite poet, see *Tabari*, series I, p. 3064), 103.

Hizibrú'd-Dín Khurshíd (cousin of Sháh Ardashír, XII²), 252, 253.

Hudhayfa of Yaman (VII), 98.

Ibn Hujr, 78, l. 4.

Húlágú (XIII¹), 258, 259, 263.

*Hulwán, 38.

Huns (Hayáṭila), 94.

*Húr (?), 29.

Hurmazd (?) IV, Son of Anúshirwán, Sásánian king, VI²), 36, 95.

*Hurmazd-ábád, 127, 149, 152.

Hurmazd-Káma-i-Yazdánkard (IX²), 174, 198, 201.

*Hurmazd-Kúh, 224.

Hurmuz-i-Khurshíd, 116, 118.

*Hurmuz (river), 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. See *Hirhiz*, for which in all these passages I now believe Hurmuz to be a scribe's error.

Husámu'd-Dawla. See *Ardashír b. Hasan*.

Husámu'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínhwár (or Kíkhwáz) b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár (XIII¹), 256, 257.

Husámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin (XI), 239—245. See also *Shahriyár b. Qárin*.

Husámu'd-Dín. See *Nusratu'd-Dín Rustam b. 'Alí b. Shahriyár b. Qárin* (XII), 62.

*Húsam (حسام), 14, 244.

Husayn b. Ahmad, Sayyid — (IX), 164.

- Husayn b. ‘A. b. Abí Tálib (the Third Imám, VII), 48,
70, 108, 111, 158.
- Hus. b. ‘Alí -Fáqih (X), 212.
- Hus. b. ‘Alí, Sayyid — “Şáhibü'l-Fakhkh” (VIII²), 124.
- Hus. b. ‘Alí of Sarakhs (IX), 167.
- Hus. b. Dínár (X¹), 206.
- Hus. b. Hamza -Laythí, 12 and *ad calc.*
- Hus. b. Hárún, Sayyid —, 50.
- Hus. Kart, Malik Mu‘inu'd-Dín — (XIV¹), 263.
- Hus. b. M. -Hanafí (IX²), 163.
- Hus. b. M. “Kala” (X¹), 219.
- Hus. b. M. -Alawí -Mámtírí, Abú Ridá — (XIII¹), 257.
- Huşayn b. Mundhir -Raqqáshí, 32.
- Hus. “the Poet”, 58.
- Hus. Shírzí (XII¹), 245.
- Hus. b. Zayd, 167.
- Abu'l-Hus. -Mu‘ayyad Bi'lláh ‘Ağudu'd-Dawla, Sayyid
(X²—XI¹), 50—54.
- Abu'l-Hus. A. b. M. b. Ibr. called “al-Qá'im” (IX²), 187—189.
- Abu'l-Hus. b. M. b. Zayd, Sayyid — (IX²), 193.
- Abu'l-Hus. A. b. Abí M. H. b. ‘Alí, Sayyid — (X¹), 200—209.
- Abu'l-Hus. ‘A. b. ‘Alí. b. ‘Abbás (VIII²), 112.
- Abu'l-Hus. b. Kákí (brother of Mákán, X¹), 210.
- Abu'l-Hus. -Shajarí (X¹), 215.
- Húshang (brother of Kayús, VI¹), 92.
- Ibráhím b. Abla (IX), 149.
- Ibr. b. Gúshyár (X¹), 217.
- Ibr. b. Hilál -Sábí, Abú Isḥaq — (X²), 90, 223.
- Ibr. b. Isháq -Faqíh (X¹), 195,
- Ibr. b. Isháq -Shámí (VIII²), 122.
- Ibr. b. Khalíl (IX²), 164, 165, 170, 195.
- Ibr. b. Mihrán (X¹), 195.
- Ibr. b. Mu‘ádh (IX²), 174.

- Ibráhím b. M. Násihí (teacher of M. b. H. b. Isfandiyár, author of this book, XII²), 76.
- Ibr. Mu‘íní (Tabarí poet), 86.
- Ibr. -Muntaşir -Sámání (X²), 227.
- Ibr. -Mu‘taşim. See -Mu‘taşim.
- Ibr. b. ‘Uthmán b. Nahík (VIII²), 26.
- İddák -‘Adudí (of ‘Abdu'l -Qádir -Jurjání, q. v.), 78, 90.
- İjlí, ‘Abdu'l-‘Azíz — (IX¹), 47, 48. See also Abu'l-‘Abdás ‘Ahmad, and Bakr b. ‘Abdu'l-‘Azíz.
- İlak Khán (X²—XI¹), 227.
- İl-Arslán Khwárazmsháh (XII), 67.
- İlduguz, Atábek — (XII), 67, 72, 252.
- İl-Tughdí (X¹), 214.
- Ilyás b. İlísá -Sughdí (X¹), 201.
- ‘Imád Kujaç (XII²—XIII¹), 79. See also *Faqihu Ali Muhammad*.
- ‘Imádí (the poet, XII¹), 59.
- ‘Imádúd-Dawla ‘Alí b. Buwayh (X¹), 208, 210.
- Imámí sect, 49, 54, 58, 68, 202.
- Imám-i-shahíd (“the martyred Imám”), 75. See also ‘Abdu'l-Wáhid b. Isma‘il.
- Imáms, Tombs of — destroyed by -Mutawakkil (IX²), 48.
- ‘Imrán -Hítçán (Khárijite, VII), 103, 104.
- İnánj, Amfr — (XII²), 250.
- *India, 33, 35, 40, 68, 93, 156, 246.
- Indian servants, 156.
- *Injír, 198.
- Traj (son of the legendary Ferídún), 17, 18, 19.
- Iráq, 3, 14, 16, 33, 49, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 91, 96, 104, 107, 127, 131, 141, 147, 154, 161, 174, 178, 179, 196, 198, 213, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 226, 236, 244, 245, 249.
- ^cIsá b. ‘Abdu'l-Hamíd, 170.
- ^cIsá b. Máhán (VIII²), 131.

*Isfahán, 16, 69, 217, 218, 241, 243.

Isfáh-dúst, Abú Músá Hárún — (x¹), 206.

Isfáhí b. Akharyár (x), 221.

Isfáhí b. Urmazdyár (x¹), 217, 218, 220, 221.

Isfandári, Jíl-i—, 228.

*Isfandiyyár, 123.

Ibn Isfandiyyár (Muhammad b. -Hasan, author of this work, XII¹), 3—4, 258.

*Isfara’ín, 57, 76, 183, 207.

Isháq (of Gurgán, IX²), 183, 184.

Isháq b. Shaykhí (IX²), 167.

Abú Isháq Ibráhím b. Hilál -Şábí (author of *al-Kitábu’t-Tájí*, X²), 90, 92, 223.

Abú Isháq Ibráhím b. Marzubán, 73.

Abú Isháq -Isfara’íní (philosopher, X²), 76.

*Isháq-ábád, 219.

-Iskáfi (scribe, x¹), 219 *ad calc.*

Iskandar, Malik Jalálu’d-Dawla — Ustundár (XIV¹), 265—269.

Isma‘íl b. ‘Abbád, the Şáhib — (x), 19, 76, 78, 90—92.

Isma‘íl b. Aḥmad -Sámání (IX²—X¹), 193—197.

Isma‘íl b. Mardúchín (X²), 220.

Isma‘íl b. Núḥ -Sámání (IX²—X¹), 190. (I think, however, that the passage should read “Naṣr and Isma‘íl, the sons of Aḥmad”, whose brother Núḥ was their uncle.)

Isma‘íl b. Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim (x¹), 210, 216.

Isma‘íl b. Zayd, Abú 'Alí — (x), 194.

Isma‘ílí sect. See *Assassins*.

*Ispahbadán, 116.

*Ispíd Dáristán, 67.

*Ispíd-júy, 172.

Israel, Children of —, 13. See *Jews*.

*Iṣṭakhr, 18, 96, 237.

*Iwájan (in Kalá Rustáq), 261.

‘Izzu’d-Dín, Atábek — (XII²), 252.

‘Izzu’d-Dín Yaḥyá (XII²), 68, 69.

*Jábarán, 123.

Jábir b. ‘Abdu’lláh -Anṣári (VII¹), 7.

-Ja‘dí, Abu'l-Qásim — (XI¹), 234.

Ja‘far b. Alanbán (X¹), 221.

Ja‘far b. Hárún (IX¹), 141.

Ja‘far b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alí -Náṣir, Abu'l-Qásim — (X¹), 49, 201, 204—206, 218.

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (IX²), 176.

Ja‘far -Mutawakkil. See *-Mutawakkil*.

Ja‘far b. Rustam (governor of Kalár, IX²), 165, 171.

Ja‘far b. Shahriyár b. Qárin (IX²), 163, 169, 237.

Ja‘far b. Yaḥyá -Barmakí (IX¹), 133—140.

Abú Ja‘far -Báwandí (killed by Assassins, XII¹), 245.

Abú Ja‘far -Ḥanáti, 80.

Abú Ja‘far Kúrankíj (X¹), 211.

Abú Ja‘far (brother of Mákán, X¹), 222.

Abú Ja‘far Mánkdím, Sayyid — (X¹), 212—216.

Abú Ja‘far -Manṣúr. See *-Manṣúr*.

Abú Ja‘far M. b. ‘A. of Amul (X¹), 212, 218.

Abú Ja‘far M. -Báqir, Imám — (VIII), 12. See also *Muham-*
mad -Báqir.

Jaghrí Beg Dá‘íd, Abú Sulaymán — -Seljúqí (XI¹), 235.

Jahḍam b. Khabáb (governor of Ṭabaristán IX¹), 140.

-Jáhiḍh (IX), 6 *ad calc.*, 110.

*Jahína (Castle of —, more correctly Ǧuhína or Ǧúhína,
q. v.), 66, 220, 247, 248.

Abu'l-Jahm -Kalbí (VIII), 106.

*Jahrum, 33, l. 23.

Já’í (or Jálí)-i-Lashkar-sítán (IX²), 168, 174.

*Jájarm, 14, 60, 66, 193, 207, 210.

Jakáw (the *sipahsálár*, X¹), 208.

Jál, Kiyá Jamálu’d-Dín Ahmád — (XIV¹), 265, 266.

- Jalál, Kiyá — (nephew of above), 265.
 *Jalál, Kiyás of —, 269.
 Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar (Ustundár, XIV¹), 265—267, 269.
 Jalálu'd-Dín Ḥasan b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh (XIII¹), 256—258.
 *Jaláyin, 208.
 Jálíbu'l-Hijára (IX²), 47, 162. See Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Isma'īl, Sayyid —.
 *Jálús (Mel., 47, where it is called *Shálús* or *Chálús*), 28, 29, 40, 132, 149, 151, 157, 163, 165, 168, 169, 172, 179, 181, 188, 190—192, 200, 218, 221—223, 232.
 Jalwánán (foster-brother of the Ispahbad Khurshíd), 114.
 Jalwánán (son of Wandá-ummíd, IX²), 171.
 Jalwánán (of Tarícha, *circá* A. D. 900), 195.
 *Jám, 264.
 Jamál Bázargha, 77 (last two lines).
 *Jámanú, 41, 123, 165, 167, 169—172.
 Jámásp-i-Pírúz (Sásánian, V²—VI¹), 94—97.
 Jamshíd, 15.
 Jamshíd, Ispahbad —, 29.
 *Janáshk, castle of —, 232.
 Jarsháh. See *Garsháh*.
 *Jáshk, 33.
 Jasnasf-sháh (King of Ṭabaristán, III¹), 1, 4, 6, 7, 92.
 Jastán, 123, 195. See *Justán*.
 Jataz (Turkish tribe), 264.
 Jathím. See *Faysham*.
 Jáwalí, Amír — (XII¹), 245, 246.
 *Jawn, 194, l. 5.
 *Jayhún, river. See *Oxus*.
 Abú Jaysh—Hilálí (VIII²), 129.
 -Jaysham, Ḥakím —, 53.
 -Jaytham. See above, -Faysham.
 Jews, 37, 75, 158.

- Jibríl, Jibrá'íl. See *Gabriel*.
- *Jáláb, 15. See *Chaláb*, for which it appears to be a scribe's error.
- *Jálán, 58. See *Gilán*.
- *Jálánábád, 123.
- Jálánsháh, See *Gilánsháh*.
- Jildū'l-Abṣár*, 53, and note *ad calc.*
- Jál-i-Isfandári, 228.
- Jál b. Sa'íd -Marwází (VIII²), 122.
- Joseph, 97.
- Joshemí, 53.
- Ju'ffí, M. b. Abí Surra (VIII¹), 106.
- *Júhína, 186, 190, 248. See *Fahína*, above.
- *Júlka-Kúy, 77, l. 2 *a.f.*
- *Júmand, Castle of —, 230, 231.
- Jumhur b. Marár (VIII²), 117, 118.
- *Júparm, 123.
- *Júrishjird (Sa'íd-ábád), 123.
- *Jurján, 25, 57. See *Gurgán*.
- *Jurjunbání, or Jurkhiyání, 117.
- Ibn Jurmúz, 'Umar — (IX²), 48.
- Jusnas b. Sáruya b. Farrukhán (VIII²), 115. See also *Gush-nasp*, *Fasnasf*.
- Justán-i-Wahsúdán (IX²), 178, 179, 190, 191, 196, 203.
- Justi, 14.
- Juthaym. See *Faysham*.
- *Juwayn, 75.
- Ká, Amír — (X²—XI), 36, 95, 210, 211, 273.
- Ka'b b. Zuhayr (VII), 110.
- Kabúd-jáma, 95.
- *Kábul, 40.
- *Kachín, Castle of —, 222.
- Kajín, Castle of —, 204.

- *Kajú, 100, 132, 181, 190, 198, 248, 251.
- *Kajúr (Mel., 47), 163, 248.
- *Kajúya, 28.
- *Kajwíhí (Qaṣabatu'r-Rúyán), 123.
- Kákī, the father of Mákán. See *Mákán*.
- "Kala", Ḫusayn b. Muḥammad (x¹), 219.
- Kaláband (head-dress worn by Ṭabarís), 268.
- Kalálak (long locks of hair worn by Ṭabarís), 268.
- Kálanjár, Abu'l-'Abbás b. — (x¹), 216.
- Abú Kálanjár b. Minúchihr b. Qábús (x¹), 235.
- *Kalár (Mel., 56, 213), 28, 39, 123, 132, 157, 163—165, 168, 171, 181, 182, 195, 200, 248, 251.
- *Kalá-Rustáq (Mel., 213, "Kelárestak"), 262.
- *Kaláta (near Bisṭám; Mel., "Keláte" and "Kelati", 89, 138, 139, 148), 208.
- *Kálbadraja, 149.
- Kalíj (a herb used medicinally), 20.
- *Káljar, 266.
- Kalila and Dimna, Book of* —, 86.
- Kalimatu'r-Rúháníyya fi ḥikamí'l-Yúnániyya* (by Abu'l-Faraj 'Alí b. -Ḥusayn b. Hindú), 77.
- Kamálu'l-Balágha* (by Abu'l-Ḥ. 'A. b. M. -Yazdádī), 92.
- Kámil (of -Mubarrad), 103.
- Kámílū's-Ṣaná'at (by Abú 'A. Fáris; cf. my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, p. 124), 90.
- *Kamímnám, 128.
- *Kandasán, 100, 182.
- *Kandí-Ab, 149.
- *Kanz-girdáb (near Jamanú), 41.
- *Karkam, 247.
- Karsháf (legendary hero of Persia), 16.
- Kart (Dynasty), 264.
- *Kaskarúd, 123.
- *Káshán, 33, 68.

- Kat Búqá, Amír (XIII¹), 258.
Ká'ús, Malik — b. Fakhru'd-Dín (XIV¹), 269.
Káwa (the blacksmith), 19, 94.
Kawádh (Sásánian king, V²—VI¹), 7. See also *Qubád-i-Pírus*.
Káwán, Shaykh 'Alí — (XIV¹), 264.
*Kawíj, 205.
Kawkabán (IX²—X¹), 181, 196.
Kawwá, 'Abdu'lláh b. — (Khárijite leader, VII²), 101.
Kayán Búj (X¹), 211.
Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús (XI²), 236.
Kay-Ká'ús (Ustundár, XII¹), 54, 60, 246—248, 250.
Kay-Khusraw (legendary king of Persia), 17.
Kay-Khusraw b. Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird (XIV¹), 262, 268.
Kay-Khusraw, Ustundár Sháh — (XIV¹), 262, 263.
Kayús (V²—VI¹), 7, 92, 93, 95, 98.
*Kázar, Plain of —, 196.
*Kerbelá, 70, 158.
Khadíja (mother of Abú Ja'far Mánk-dím, X¹), 216.
Khalaf b. 'Abdu'lláh (VIII²), 122.
Khálid b. Barmak (VIII²), 124, 126, 128, 130.
Abú Khálid (VII²), 103.
*Khálida-Saráy, 124.
Khalífa, Abú 'Alí — (X¹), 217.
Khalífa b. Bahrám (VIII²), 123, 129?
Khalífa b. Hílya (VIII²), 123.
Khalífa b. Mihrán (X¹), 129, 195.
Khalífa b. Núh, Abu'l-Wafá — (X), 200.
Khalífa b. Sa'íd (? Sa'íd) b. Harún -Jawharí (VIII²—IX¹), 140.
Khalíl b. Aḥmad. See *Furhúdī*.
Khalíl b. Kájí (X¹), 209.
Khalíl b. Wandásafán (IX¹), 150, 151.
Ibn Khallikán (XIII), 5, 6, 51, 106.
Kháqán, the — of the Turks, 93, 94, 138.
Ibn Kháqán, 'Abdu'lláh b. Yaḥyá — (IX), 158.

- Khargásh, Sálár — (x²), 228, 234.
 Khárijites, 101—104.
 *Kharaqán, 69.
 *Kharmazar (near Amul), 222.
 Khaṭíb, Sayyid Imám —, 58.
 *Khaṭíra of Bábil, 156.
 Ibnu'l-Khayr, the Násíbí (IX), 52.
 Khazars, 97, 199.
 Khidásh b. Mughíra b. -Muḥallab b. Abí Sufra (VIII¹), 106.
 Khiyán (or? Khayán: IX²), 164, 170, 171, 195. See Muḥammad b. Rustam b. Wandá-ummíd.
 Khudá-bandá, Sulṭán Muḥammad — (XIV), 262, 263.
 "Khudáwand-i-Kalálak" (= Wandá-ummíd b. Wandád Hurmazd, q. v.: VIII²), 127.
 Abu'l-Khuḍayb Marzúq -Sa'dí (VIII²), 120, 122.
 Khujand (XII²), 68.
 -Khujistání, A. b. 'Al. — (IX²), 185, 186.
 *Khurásán, 7, 33, 35, 46, 62, 65, 66, 93, 94, 96, 99, 105,
 107, 112, 118, 121, 122, 123, 138, 139, 143, 152,
 154, 157, 167, 168, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 188,
 190, 194, 201, 205, 207, 208, 210, 213, 214, 216,
 218, 224, 227, 232, 234, 238, 239, 240, 254, 258,
 262, 264, 268.
 Ibn Khurdádhbih, 32 *ad calc.*, 272.
 *Khurramábád, 123.
 Khúrsháh, Ruknú'd-Dín — (XIV), 259.
 Khurshíd b. Dázamíhr (VIII²), 46.
 Khurshíd Gávbán, 17, 101.
 Khurshíd-i-Gushnasp-i-Nidrand (IX²), 164, 168, 170, 171, 172.
 Khurshíd, Hizibrú'd-Dín — (XI), 252, 253.
 Khurshíd, Ispahbad — (VIII²), 113—117, 121, 122.
 Khurshíd b. Abu'l-Qásim -Mámtírí (IX), 60.
 Khurzád, 'Abdu'r-Rahmán — (? Ibn Khurdádhbih, q. v.), 32.
 *Khurzád, 237.

- Khushk Khayán, 195.
 *Khushrúd, 194.
 Khushnawáz (v), 94.
 *Khusraw-ábád (near Amul), 19.
 Khusraw-Fírúz-i-Justán (x¹), 202—203, 206.
 Khusraw-i-Fírúz (king of Balkh), 25.
 Khusraw-isfáhí (ix¹), 237.
 Khusraw Parwíz (Sásánian king, vii¹), 35, 36, 60, 95, 236.
 Khusraw Sháh (Magian astrologer of Sháh Gházi Rustam, xii), 90.
 Abú Khuzayma (viii²), 122, 123.
 *Khwájak, 168, 170, 188, 251.
 *Khwár, 189, 244.
 *Khwárazm, 4, 13, 67, 93, 96, 109, 190, 193, 235, 254, 255.
 -Khwárazmí, Abú Bakr — (x), 90.
 Khwárazmsháhs, 59, 62, 67, 204, 255, 256, 257, 258.
 Kíkhwáz (or Kínhwár, xiii¹), 258.
 *Kílankúr, 37.
 *Kílárján, 193.
 *Kilis, Darband-i—, 59.
 *Kimnán, 169.
 Kinár b. Fírúzán (x²), 229.
 "King of the Mountains", Sharwín b. Surkháb first so entitled (ix²), 237.
 Kínhwár (or Kíkhwáz, xiii¹), 258.
 Kínhwár b. Shahriyár b. Kínhwár (xiii¹), 256.
 *Kirmán, 217, 218, 235.
 Kirmán -Bukhári (viii²), 122.
 *Kísa, 115.
 Kitrá, 7, 20, 130, 155, 258. See *Anúshirwán*, *Núshirwán*, *Khusraw*, *Sásánians*.
 Kitáb -Aghrád (by Sayyid Abu'l-Fadl Isma'íl -Músawí -Jurjání), 86.

- K. Amithál -Muwallada* (by Abu'l-Faraj 'A. b. Ḥus. b. Hindú), 77.
- K. -Ansád*, 204.
- K. -Bayán wa -Tabayín* (by -Jáhidh), 6, 110.
- K. Bulgha* (by Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥus. -Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh 'Adudúd-Dawla), 50.
- K. Bulgha* (by Abu'l-Faraj 'A. b. -Ḥus. b. Hindú), 77.
- K. -Dimá'a* (by Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá), 55.
- K. -Faraj ba'd -Shidda* (by Abu'l-Q. 'A. b. M. -Tanúkhí), 52.
- K. Ḥumayra* (by Ibn Durayd), 110.
- K. -Ídáh- 'Adudí* (by Abú 'Alí Fáris), 90.
- K. -Ídáh- 'Adudí*, Comm. on — (by Abdu'l-Qádir -Jurjáni), 78.
 [This name, as Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me, should be 'Abdu'l-Qáhir, the author of the well-known *Méat 'amíl*, who died in A.D. 1078. See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 287—288].
- K. -Ifáda* (by Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥus. -Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh), 50.
- K. -Jumal* (by 'Abdu'l-Qáhir -Jurjáni), 78. See above.
- K. "Khudhu'n-na'ī"* (by M. b. Jarír b. Rustam -Sarawí), 79.
- K. -Masáha* (by Abu'l-Faraj 'A. b. -Ḥus. b. Hindú), 77.
- K. -Masálík* (by 'Abdu'r-Rahmán Khúrzád), 32, and *ibid.*, *ad calc.*
- K. Miftáh -Tíbb* (by Abu'l-Faraj 'A. b. Ḥus. b. Hindú), 77.
- K. -Mudhakkar wa -Mu'annaih* (by the above Abu'l-Faraj), 77.
- K. -Mujzá* (by Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá), 55.
- K. -Mustarshíd* (by M. b. Jarír b. Rustam -Sarawí), 79.
- K. -Nawádir* (by -Aṣma'í), 136, 159.
- K. -Nuzha* (by the above Abu'l-Faraj), 77.
- K. -Tabṣira* (by Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥus. -Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh), 50.
- K. -Tahrír* (by Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá), 55. *
- K. -Táj* (by Abú Isháq Ibr. b. Hilál -Sábf), 90, 223.
- K. -Tajríd* (by the above Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥus.), 50.
- K. -Tanbíh wa -Ishráf* (by -Mas'údí), 26. *

- K.* -*Tibb* -*‘Alāt* (by Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Ismá‘il), 86.
K. -*Wasáṭa bayn -Ziná wa -Liwáṭa* (by the above Abu'l-Faraj), 77.
K. *Yádgár* (by Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Ismá‘il), 86.
“*Kiya*” (= “House”), 35.
Kiyá Afrásiyáb (XIV¹), 268, 269.
Kiyá Buzurg -Dá‘í ila‘l-Ḥaqq -Riḍá b. Hádí (XII¹), 246, 252.
Kiyá Jalál, nephew of Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál (XIV¹), 265, 268.
Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál (XIV¹), 265.
Kiyá M. b. H. (Grand Master of Alamút, XIII), 259.
**Kiya Salyán*, 35.
Kiyá Táju'd-Dín (nephew of Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál; XIV¹), 265.
Kiyás of Chaláp, 268, 269.
Kiyás of Jalál, 269.
*Kúcha-i-Gázaráń (“Street of the Washerman” or “Bleachers” in Amul), 25.
**Kúfa*, 79, 100, 161.
*Kúh-i-Qárin, 16, 95.
*Kúh-páya, 182, 191.
*Kuhrúd, Castle of —, 221, 247, 256. See also *Quhrúd*.
Kujaj, Imám ‘Imád —, called *Faqih-i-Ab-i-Muhammad* (XII²—XIII¹), 79.
Kúkbán-i-Bakhmí (IX²), 169.
*Kúlá, 99, 121, 123, 128, 200, 237.
Kúlá Khurzád Khusraw Ispáhí (VII), 99.
**Kulahwár* (River), 191.
Kúlápíj, 95.
Kúrankíj, or *Kúrankíz*, Abú Ja‘far b. — b. Rúzbihán, 170, 211, 230.
**Kurd-ábád*, 182.
Kurds, 226, 228.
Kurdí-zád, brother of Pádhúsbán (IX²), 171.
Kurdzád, father of Pádhúsbán, 164.

- *Kúsán, 61, 98, 122.
- *Kúshk-i-Jáwálí, Palace of —, 245.
- Kustaj (old Persian script), 26.
- *Kýz, Castle of —, 99.
- *Kúzá, Castle of —, 142, 244, 246, 252, 256.

- *Lafúr (or Lapúr, S. of Bárfurúsh, on the river Bábul; Mel. 47, 151, 195), 15, 17, 27, 29, 95, 123, 142, 153, 164, 167, 241, 244, 252.
- “Lafúraj” (a kind of gold-embroidered garment), 118.
- *Lák-Ábandán, 245.
- *Lamrásk, 28(?), 30, 207, 211.
- Lane-Poole, S. —, 58, 255.
- Langarcha-Pír (X¹), 217.
- *Lanká, 54.
- *Lankúr-khán, 173.
- *Lápích (River), 169.
- *Lár, 14, 68, 264.
- *Láriján, 15, 19, 29, 67, 74, 95, 121, 167, 183, 184, 190, 196, 203, 217, 222, 241, 244, 249, 250, 255.
- Lashkarí (X¹), 217.
- Lashkarsítán (IX¹), 164, 168, 174, 177, 207.
- *Latrá, 162.
- *Láwích (Mel. 208, 210, 211), 266.
- *Lawrá, 82, 1. 8?
- Laylá b. Nu'mán (X¹), 203, 205, 207.
- Layth-i-Fana (IX²), 170, 171, 176, 177, 181, 183, 184.
- Laythám b. Wardán of Daylam, 188, 189, 203.
- *Laythám, Bridge of —, 192.
- *Lícham, 168.
- *Líkání (Plain of —, near Amul), 194.
- *Líkash, 35, 61.
- *Lít-Kúh, 262.
- *Lúman Dun, 17.

“Lunbur” (*Tábarí* word for “skirt”), 34.
Lurs (tribesmen), 226.

- Abu'l-Má'álí of Juwayn, 75.
 *Machúrf (or Bújúrf), 28.
 “Macaronic verse”, 81 *et seqq.*
 *-Mádá'in, 70, 93—96.
 Ma'dan -Ayádí (Khárijite leader, VII), 101..
 *-Madína, 11, 12, 71, 96, 111, 124, 144.
 *Madú, 29.
 Magians, 5, 150, 152, 153, 157, 158. See also *Gabrs, Zoroastrianism*.
 Máhabádí, Afqalu'd-Dín — (XII²), 69.
 Maharája (XII²), 68.
 *Mahastiya (or Quhsibah), 28.
 -Mahdí (Caliph, VIII²), 118—120, 124—126, 129, 131.
 Mahdí of Lafúr, Amír — (XI²), 241, 244.
 Mahdí b. Mukhayyas (IX²), 188, 192.
 Ibn -Mahdí -Mámírí (IX), 50, 76.
 Máhiya-sar (legendary king), 37—39.
 *Máhiya-sarí Dizh, 38.
 Ma'hmúd b. Subuktigín (see p. 279: X²—XI¹), 227, 231,
 232, 233, 234, 235, 238.
 Ma'hmúd (Seljúq, XII¹), 59, 61, 62.
 Máhu'i-i-Súrí (murderer of Yazdigird III; VII¹), 98.
Majáni'l-Adab, 7 *ad calc.*
 Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Tálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla (X²),
 227—230.
 Majdu'd-Dín Dárá, Ispahbad — (XII²), 249.
 Abu'l-Majd b. Mudhaffar b. Ibráhím, 79.
 Mákán b. Kákí (X¹), 41, 196, 208—219, 222, 225, 238.
 Maláhida. See *Assassins*.
Maláhílm (apocalyptic writings), 180.
 *Malát (between Dínár-járf and Húsam), 14, 28.
 Málik b. Ashtar -Nakha'i (VII¹), 27, 98.

- *Málíka-Dasht (near Amul), 98, 200.
- Málík Dínár (Şúfi saint), 10.
- Malik Muadhham Sharafud-Dawla Gustahm (xiv), 266.
- Maliksháh (Seljúq, xi²), 240, 256.
- "Maliku'l-Jibál" ("King of the Mountains"), Title of —, 237.
- *Mám̄fir (= the modern Bárfurúsh: see Mel. 30, 47, 57, etc.), 27—28 (etymology), 29, 56, 76, 123, 165, 167, 171, 172, 196, 210, 221.
- *Mámwand, 29.
- Mamún (Caliph, IX¹), 36, 43, 53, 74, 87, 132, 136, 142—145, 147—152.
- *Mánahar (in Rúyán), 19.
- *Mandúr (near Nátıl), 40.
- Mangú Qaán (xiii²), 258, 259.
- Manháju'l-Maqál* (by -Astarábádi), 11, 12 *ad calc.*, 271, 273.
- Máníwand, Zar-míwand —, son of the Ustundár Hazár-asp, 251 (xi²).
- Mánk-dím, Sayyid Abú Jafar — (x¹), 212, 215. See also *Abú Jafar, Sayyid* —.
- Mankli-Tukuz (Atábek; XII²), 253—254.
- *Mankúl, 255.
- Mansúr (Caliph, VIII²), 10, 53, 111, 112, 117—119, 124.
- *Mansúr-kúh, Castle of —, 243.
- Mansúr [b.] -Mahdí (VIII²), 109.
- Mansúr I b. Núh -Sámání (x²), 224.
- Mansúr b. Qábús (= Minúchihr b. Qábús, *q. v.*), 229, n.
2 ad calc.
- Mansúr Qarátakín (governor of Merv for Sámánids; x¹), 223. See *Qarátakín*.
- Mansúr of Tarícha (x¹), 195.
- Mansúr b. Yahyá (minister of Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'lláh, ix²), 157.
- Abú Mansúr Mahdí b. Mukhayyas (ix²), 188, 192.
- Abú Mansúr. See *-Thaalibi*.

- *Man'úr-kúh, 64.
- *Maqṣúra, 59.
- *Marágha, 252.
- *Marán-Dih (near Amul), 269.
- *Maraz, 200.
- "Mardán-kuláh" (= M. b. Tamím, IX²), 182.
- Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, Abu'l-Hajjáj — (X¹), 214, 216, 217.
- Mardáwíj, Táju'l-Mulík — (XII¹), 246.
- Máriqiyya (a name of the Khárijite sect), 102.
- Mars, Planet — propitious to Turks, 226.
- Marwán, House of —, 254, l. 3. See *Umayyads*.
- Marwán II, called "the Ass" (VIII¹), 110, 111.
- Marwán b. Abí Hafṣa (IX²), 159, l. 5.
- Marzubán, Farshwád — Khurshíd (VIII²), 113, 149.
- Marzubán, House of —, 95.
- Marzubán b. Rustam b. Sharwín Parím (author of *Marzubán-náme*), 86.
- *Mashhad, 55.
- *Mashhad 'Alí (Tomb of 'Alí at Kúfa), 158.
- *Mashhad-i-Sar, 58.
- Masíḥ (Christ), 85, l. 6, 91, l. 16.
- *Masjid-i-Sálár (Amul), 76, 77.
- *Masla Zarrín Kúl, 123.
- Mas-mughán Walásh (VII²), 101, 126.
- Mas-mughán-i-Wandá-ummíd (IX²), 164, 165, 168, 170—174, 176, 178, 184.
- Masqala b. Hubayra -Shaybání (VII²), 100, 107.
- Masrúr (executioner of Hárún -Rashíd, VIII²), 135.
- Mastamard, Díwarwaz — (X²), 87—89.
- Mas'úd, Amír — Sarbadál (XIV¹), 264—267.
- Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín (XI¹), 235.
- Mas'úd b. Muḥammad (Seljúq; XII¹), 59, 66, 246.
- Mas'údí (the historian, X¹), 26 *ad calc.*
- Mas'údí (postal officer in reign of Hárún -Rashíd; VIII²), 138.

- *Máta (in Amul), 25.
- Mawákhún (or Hawákhún, *q. v.*), Amír 'Alí — (XIV¹), 265.
- *Má wará'u'n-Nahr (Transoxiana), 105.
- *Máwjakúh, 15.
- "Máwlá Amírl-Mú'minín" (title of — offered to Qárin b. Wandád Hurmazd, *q. v.*; IX¹), 146.
- *Mayándarúd (Mel., 238), 101, 116, 126.
- *Maydán-i-Rúdbár (Amul), 262.
- *Maydán-i-Tápán, 61.
- *Mázandarán, 1, 4, 14, 65, 70, 104, 238, 241, 248, 249, 253, 256, 259, 261—263, 265, 266, 268, 269.
- Mazdak (VI¹), 93.
- Mázyár-i-Justán (X¹), 221.
- Mázyár-i-Qárin (IX¹), 17, 26, 28, 29, 42, 43, 80, 132, 146—157.
- Mázyár-i-Qárin-i-Shahriyár (IX²), 173, 174, 178, 237.
- *Mecca, 34, 41, 58, 70, 71, 73, 74, 111.
- Melgunof, 33, 43, 46.
- *Merv, 20, 66, 81, 110, 157, 223, 235.
- Mihr-Fírz, 22—24.
- Mihraján, Festival of —, 176.
- *Mihrawán, 28, 56, 61, 122, 167, 172, 174, 191.
- *Mihrín, Castle of —, 64.
- Mihr-mardán b. Suhráb (IX²), 237.
- Mihrúya, (VIII²), 124, 140—141.
- Mikhráq, Szálih [b.] — (Khárijite leader, VII²), 101.
- Mílád (legendary hero), 28.
- Minúchihr (legendary king of Persia), 14, 17, 18—20, 34, 60.
- Minúchihr (vassal of the Ispahbad Sháh Gházi Rustam; XII¹), 247.
- Minúchihr b. Qábús b. Washmgír, Falaku'l-Ma'alí — (XI¹), 227, 230—235.
- Abú Miráh (= Muhammád b. Khálid; IX²), 171.
- Mirdás (Khárijite, VII²), 104.

*Mírwand-ábád, 244.

*Mishkawá, 209.

Miskín b. Ghazál -Shámí (VIII²), 123.

Mongols, 257, 258, 261—263, 268.

Mu'áwiya (Umayyad Caliph, VII²), 48, 100, 110.

-Mu'ayyad bíflláh b. -Mutawakkil (IX²), 80.

-Mu'ayyad bíflláh, Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn — (X²), 50, 54.

Mu'ayyid-Ayi Aba (XI²), 61.

Mu'ayyidí, *Sháhnáma* of —, 18.

Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla (Buwayhid, X²), 225, 226.

Mubárak (Arabicized form of Anbárak, VIII²), 26.

-Mubarrad, -Kámíl of —, 103.

Mudhaffar b. Ibráhím, Abú Sa'íd — (X²), 78.

Mudhaffar b. Isma'íl, Abu'l-Faraj — (X²), 79.

[As these two are described as brothers, it is evident that we must either read Ibráhím or Isma'íl in both cases].

Mudhaffar, Ra'ís — (IX²), 240.

Abu'l-Mudhaffar (X¹), 217.

Mudhaffarí, Abú 'Alí b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad — (X¹), 218.

Mudhaffarí -Khurásání (poet; XII), 65.

-Mufíd, Imám — Abú Tálib (IX²), 47.

Muflīḥ (IX²), 179—180.

Muḥallab b. Abí Šufra (VIII¹), 104.

-Muḥázim.

Muhammad (the Prophet), 7, 47, 52, 53, 75, 96, 109, 110, 137, 144, 159, 175, 242.

M. b. 'Abbás (IX²), 163, 165, 172.

M. b. 'Abbás -Salmí (VIII²), 123.

M. b. 'Abd -'Azíz (governor of Rúyán; IX²), 165, 201.

M. b. 'Abd -Karím (IX²), 162, 163.

M. b. 'Abdu'lláh (governor of Jábarán, VIII²), 123.

M. b. 'Al. (ambassador of -Mu'tasim to Mázyár; IX¹), 152.

M. b. 'Al., Qádí — (IX²), 172.

- M. b. 'Al. -Bal'ámí, Abu'l-Faḍl —, wazír of Aḥmad b. Isma'il -Sámání, x¹), 199, 200.
- M. b. 'Al. b. Táhir (IX), 29, 157, 161, 169, 181.
- M. b. 'Abd -Razzáq (X²), 223, 224.
- M. b. 'Afál (VIII²), 123.
- M. b. Aḥmad b. -Ḥasan, Sayyid Abú 'Alí — (x¹), 209—211.
- M. b. A. -Khurásání (IX²), 182.
- M. b. A. -Náṣir (x¹), 218.
- M. b. A. Wandawayh (IX²), 190.
- M., 'Alá'u'd-Dín — (wazír of Tughá-Tímúr, XIV¹), 264.
- M. -'Alawí (IX²), 163, 164.
- M. b. 'A. -Shá'ir, 49. See *Uṭrúsh*.
- M. b. Ardashír, Shamsu'l-Mulúk — (XIII), 258, 268.
- M. Aws (IX²), 157, 158, 162—165, 168.
- M. -Báqir, Imám — (VIII¹), 12.
- M. b. -Dabírí (x¹), 220.
- M. b. Faḍl (IX¹), 141.
- M. b. Faḍl (of Láriján; IX²), 171.
- M. b. -Faqíh (x¹), 195.
- M. -Fáris (father of Sayyid Abú Ṭálib -Thá'ir), 58.
- M. -Ghazálí (XI), 75, l. 18.
- M. b. -Hajar (ambassador of Aḥmad b. Isma'il -Sámání; x¹), 198.
- M. b. Ḥamza, Sayyid — (IX²), 164, 167, 172.
- M. b. -Hanafiyya. See *Ibnu'l-Hanafiyya*.
- M. b. Hárún (governor of Jálús, IX²), 190—197.
- M. b. Hasán b. Isfandiyár. See *Ibn Isfandiyár*.
- M. b. Ḥ. (Ispahbad of Kalár; X¹), 200.
- M. b. Ḥ., Kiya —, entitled -Qá'im bi-amri'lláh; XIII), 259.
- M. b. Ibr. (general of -Mu'tasim; IX), 154, 157.
- M. b. Ibr. b. 'A. b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán b. -Qásim b. Ḥ. b. Zayd b. Ḥ. b. 'A. b. Abí Ṭálib (IX²), 162, 163, 165, 167, 174, 177, 178, 183, 185.
- M. b. Ibr. Símjúr (X²), 224—225.

- M. b. Ikhshíd (IX²), 164.
 M. b. Ildigiz (or Ilduguz; XII²), 67, 252 *ad. calc.*
 M. b. Ilísá^c (X¹), 199.
 M. b. 'Ísá (IX²), 157; — b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd (IX²), 170.
 M. b. Isma'íl (IX²), 171.
 M. Khwárazmsháh, Jalálu'd-Dín — (XIII¹), 59, 256, 257.
 M. b. Jarír b. Rustám -Sarawí (IX), 79; *cf.* 274.
 M. -Juwayní (XI), 75, l. 18.
 M. b. Kathír (IX²), 172.
 M. b. Khálid^b (VIII²—IX¹), 28, 147.
 M. b. Khálid, Abú Miráh — (IX²), 171.
 M. Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb (XIV¹), 269.
 M. b. Mahdí b. Nírák (IX²), 185.
 M. b. Maliksháh (XII¹), 59, 240—244.
 M. b. Abí Mansúr (IX²), 170.
 M. b. Mískál (IX²), 167.
 M. b. Mughíra of Rúyán (X¹), 195.
 M. b. M. -Astarábádí Bári^c, 79. "According to the *Dum-yatú'l-Qaṣr*, Add. 9994, ff. 83^a and 79^a", writes Mr. Mr. A. G. Ellis, "Abú Ḥanífa -Astarábádí and Bári^c-i-Jurjání are two distinct persons."
 M. b. Músá b. Abdu'r-Rahmán (IX²), 157.
 M. b. Músá b. Ḥafs (IX), 73, 148, 150—152.
 M. b. Musáfír (X¹), 206.
 M. b. Ná'ib (VIII²), 123.
 M. b. -Násir -Kabír (IX²), 49.
 M., Nidhám — (VI), 65.
 M. b. Núḥ (IX²), 174, 176, 177.
 M. b. Qays, Abu'l-A'azz — (IX²), 172.
 M. -Qumí, Ibnu'l-Āmíd — (X¹), 219.
 M. -Riḍá b. M. b. Zayd, Sayyid — (X¹), 194.
 M. b. Rustam b. Wandá-ummíd (IX²), 163, 170, 171.
 M. b. Sa'íd (IX¹), 151.
 M. b. Şa'lúk (X¹), 199, 200, 204, 214.

- M. b. Shahriyár (X¹), 206.
 M. b. -Sírrí (X¹), 195.
 M. b. Abí Şurra -Ju^cfi (VIII¹), 106.
 M. b. Táhir (IX²), 179.
 M. b. Tamím (IX²), 182.
 M. Taqí (or Jawád), Imám — (IX), 144.
 M. b. Wahrí (X), 223.
 M. b. Wahsúdán (IX²), 193, 230.
 M. b. -Walíd (IX²), 172.
 M. b. Yaḥyá b. Khálid -Barmakí (VIII²—IX¹), 133.
 M. -Yazdádí, Abu'l-Hasan —. See '-Yazdádí.
 M. b. Yazíd, 46.
 M., brother of Zarrín-Kamar (XII¹), 59.
 M. b. Zayd, Abu 'Abdu'lláh — (called *ad-Dá'i ulā'l-Haqq*, or *ad-Dá'i'l-Kabír*, *q. v.*; IX¹), 47, 48, 158, 182, 183, 185—195, 238.
 M. b. Zubayda, called *-Makhlu'c* („the Deposed; VIII²—IX¹).
 See *-Amin*.
 Abú M. H. b. 'A. See *-Násir -Kabír*.
 Abú M. H. b. Qásim (X¹), 201.
 Abú M. H. b. Zayd b. M. b. Zayd (X¹), 194.
 Abú M. b. Mihrán (XI¹), 233.
 Muḥarram observed, 158.
 Muḥím (Sámáníd governor, X¹), 200.
 Mu'^cínu'd-Dín Ḥus. Kart (XIV¹), 264.
 Mu'^cíni, Ibráhím — (Tabarí poet), 86.
 Mu'^cizzu[? 'Izzu]^d-Dawla, Bakhtiyár — (X²), 91, 223.
 Muktaffí ('Alí) b. -Mu'^ctađid (Caliph; X¹), 191.
 Abu'l-Mulúk -Arba'^cín b. 'Abdu'lláh b. -'Abbás (VII), 112.
 Abu'l-Mulúk, Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Kínhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár (XIII¹), 256.
 Mú'mín, Amír — (XIV¹), 262, 268.
 Múní (IX), 156.
Muntaha³l-Maqál (by M. b. Isma'^cíl -Há'írf), 11, 12, 271.

- Muntahí, Sayyid — (xii¹), 242.
 -Muntasir (Caliph, ix²), 158, 161.
 -Muntasir, Ibráhím — -Sámání (x²), 227, 228.
- Ibn -Muqaffá^c (viii²), i, 4—6.
 *Múqán, 27, 33, 60.
 Muqátil-i-Daylamí (ix²), 164, 195.
- Abú Muqátil -Darír (poet; ix), 175.
 -Muqtadir (Caliph; x¹), 201, 206, 215.
 Murád b. Muslim (viii²), 131.
 -Múriyání, Abú Ayyúb (wazír of -Mansúr; viii²), 113.
 Murtadá Káshání, Sayyid — (xii²), 69, 103.
- Músá b. ^cAl. b. H. b. H. b. ^cA. b. Abí Tálib (viii²),
 124, 125.
 Músá ^c-Alawí (xii²), 255.
 Músá b. Bughá (ix²), 179, 180.
 Músá -Hádí (Caliph; viii²), 131, 132.
- Músá b. Hafs (ix), 148.
 - Músá Hájib (x²), 229.
 - Músá b. ^cIsá (viii²), 124.
 Músá b. ^cIsá -Sarwí (or -Sarawi), 36.
 Músá b. Ja^cfar -Kádhim, Imám — (viii²), 124, 125.
 Músá b. -Kátib (ix²), 172.
 Músá b. Yaḥyá b. Khálid -Barmakí (viii²—ix¹), 133.
 Muslim b. -Walíd (viii²—ix¹), 45.
- Abú Músá b. Bahrám (x¹), 216—218.
 Abú Músá Hárún Isfáhdúst (x¹), 206.
 Muṣab b. -Zubayr (vii²), 48, 49.
 *Muṣallá (“the Oratory”, at Amul), 203, 205, 219, 220.
 -Musawwida. See ^cAbbás, *House of* —.
 *Mushkú (two stages from Ray), 218.
- Mushkhwásh (a kind of sweet rushes), 41.
 Muslim b. Khálid (viii²), 123.
- Abú Muslim (viii), 110—113, 117—118.
 Muslim, Abú ^cAlí — (x²), 224.

- Musta'ín (Caliph; IX²), 161.
- Mustanşır (Fátimid Caliph; XI), 236.
- Mustarshid (Caliph; XII¹), 59.
- Musta'sím (last 'Abbásid Caliph; XIII), 259.
- Mu'taqíd b. Illáh (Caliph; IX²), 191, 196.
- Mutanabbí (poet, X), 87, 90.
- Mu'taşim (Caliph; IX¹), 80, 152—158, 237.
- Mutawakkil (Caliph; IX), 48, 80, 108, 155, 158—161.
- Mu'tazilites, 232.
- Mu'tazz (Caliph; IX²), 179, 180.
- *Muthanná b. -Hajjáj (VIII²), 120, 123, 132.
- *Muthla, 28.
- Mu'trif (X¹), 212, 217.
- *Múz (mountain), 14.
- Muzáhib (VIII¹), 12.

- Nabaťí, Hayyán — (VIII¹), 107.
- Náfi' (cousin and deputy-governor of Khalífa b. Sa'íd, IX¹), 140.
- Nahapets (Nahábidha), 106, 108, 113, 114.
- *Naháwand, 93.
- *Nahrawála, 93.
- *Nahruwán, Battle of — (VII), 102, 104.
- Na'ím b. Házim (IX¹), 142.
- Na'ím (chamberlain of Qábús; XI¹), 232.
- Abú Na'ím, Shaykh —, 80.
- Najáshí, 11, 12, 271.
- Banú Nájiya, 100.
- Najmu'd-Dawla Qárín b. Shahriyár b. Qárín (XI²), 241—245.
- Nakha'i, Málík [b.] -Ashtar — (VII¹), 27, 98.
- *Namár, 28.
- Námdárán (apparently a mistake for Bámdádán), 93.
- *Námina, 56, l. 21, 186.
- Naqíb, Abú M. -H. b. A. b. M. b. Zayd —, 49.

- *Nárdín, 233.
- Naríman (legendary hero of Persia), 16.
- Nársí b. Jámásپ (v²), 97.
- *Nasá (or Nisá, in Khurásán), 123, 223.
- “Násibí” (a term of disparagement applied to the Sunnís by their opponents the “Ráfidiś”, or Shí'ites), 52, 158.
- Nášihí, Ibráhím b. M. —, 76.
- Náṣir (x¹), 217.
- *Náṣir-ábád, 198.
- Náṣir -Kabír, Abú M. H. b. ‘A b. Ḥ. b. ‘A. b. ‘Amr b. ‘A. Zaynu'l-‘Abidín — (x¹), 49, 57, 58, 89, 178, 195, 196, 199—204, 210, 222, 238.
- Náṣir li-Díni'lláh (Caliph; XII²), 79.
- Naṣíru'd-Dawla, Ispahbad Dárá b. Bahman — (XII³), 249.
- Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird (XIV¹), 261—263.
- *Naṣíru'd-Dawla Shamsu'l-Mulük (XIII¹), 257.
- Naṣíru'd-Dín, M. Abú Tawba, called *Bí-Tawba* (minister of Sinjar; XII¹), 80.
- Naṣíru'd-Dín Rúz-Bihán (XII²), 251.
- Naṣíru'd-Dín -Túsí (XIII¹), 259.
- Naṣíru'l-Mulk (brother of Sharafu'l-Mulk Hasan; XII²), 250.
- Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Isma'il -Sámání (x), 201, 213, 214, 218, 220.
- Naṣr b. -Ḥ. b. Fíruzán (x²), 226, 228—231.
- Naṣr b. Imráن (VIII²), 123.
- Naṣr b. Núh -Sámání (IX²), 190.
- Naṣr b. Wabrá (of Syria; IX²), 167.
- Abú Naṣr (governor of Shahriyár-Kúh; x¹), 213, 214.
- Abú Naṣr -Tabarí (ix²), 192.
- Abú Naṣr -Utbí (author of *-Ta'ríkh u'l-Yamini*, q. v.; XI¹), 92 *ad calc.*
- Nasrí b. Sunqur (VIII²), 123.
- Nassába, Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín — of Gurgán, 57.

- *Nátil, 40, 123, 163, 182, 192, 212, 251.
- Nátiq-bi'l-Haqq, Sayyid Abú Tálib Yahyá — (x²—xi¹), 50, 54, 55.
- Nátís the Byzantine, lord of 'Amúriya (ix¹), 156.
- Nawádir, Kitábu'n- — (by -Aşma^ci; viii²), 159.
- Nawfalí, 134.
- *Nawrúzábád, 165, 166.
- Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí-i-Samarqandí (xi²), 1, 238. See also *Cháhár Maqála*.
- Nidhámú'd-Dín -Sam'ání (xiii¹), 109.
- Nidhámú'l-Mulk (xi), 75, 91, 93, 240.
- *Nigáristán (near Nátil), 40.
- Níkáma, 'Alí b. — (x), 222.
- Níki-náma* (by the Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam), 86.
- *Nírús, 163.
- *Nisá (or Nasá, in Khurásán), 123, 223. See also *Nasá*.
- *Níshápúr, 90, 99, 123, 181, 185, 186, 190—192, 205, 216, 217, 222—224, 226, 227, 234.
- *Níshápúriyya, 123.
- *Nišíbín, 33.
- Noldeke, Professor Th. —, 1, 7, 46, 238.
- Ibn Nubáta -Sa^cdí (poet), 90.
- Núdhar (legendary hero of Persia), 16, 17.
- Núh (Noah), 63, l. 21.
- Núh (? b. Asad b. Sámán; ix¹), 190.
- Núh b. Naṣr -Sámání (Núh I; x), 221—224.
- Núh b. Mansúr -Sámání (Núh II; x²), 91, 226.
- Núh b. -Sásif (? viii²), 122.
- Nukhayla, Yawmu'n- —, 104, l. 1.
- Nu'mán (ix²), 188.
- *Núr, 266.
- Núru'd-Dín Şabbágh (xii²), 68.
- Núshírwán (Kisrá, the Sásánian king; vi), 7, 8, 20, 32, 36, 37, 85, 93—95.

Núshírwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús (XI¹), 5.

Nuṣratu'd-Dín (XII¹), 60, 64. See also *Rustum b. 'Ali b. Shahriyár*.

Omayyads. See *Umayyads*.

Ouseley's *Travels*, 1.

*Oxus, 91, 93, 94.

Pádhúsbán, Ispahbad — 46, 73, 98.

Pádhúsbán, Ustundár — (IX¹), 237.

Padhúsbán-i-Kurdzáf, Ispahbad of Lafúr (IX²), 164, 167—
171, 179, 181, 187.

Pahlawán 'Abdu'r-Razzáq "Sar-ba-dár" (XIII²), 264.

*Pá'íza-(or Páníra-)Kúh, 40.

*Pálíz, 82, l. 8.

*Páníra-(or Pá'íza-)Kúh, 40.

*Panjáh-hazár, 99, 116, 122, 186, 199, 237.

*Parícha, 123, l. 2.

*Parím, 99, 128. See *Farím*.

*Párs (or Fárs), 4, 18, 217, 224, 225.

Parwíz, Khusraw — (Sásánian king; VII¹), 35, 36, 60, 236.

Parwíz (of Láriján; IX²), 183, 196.

Pashang (son of the legendary Afrásiyáb), 18.

*Patashkhwár, 14 *ad calc.* See also *Farshwádgar*.

*Pá-yi-Dasht, 24, 123, 163, 164, 168, 203.

Philosopher's Stone, 36.

Pigeons, Carrier —, 155.

Pírúz-i-Yazdigird (Sásánian king, V²), 7.

Pírúz Mihrján, Book of —, 36.

Pírúza, Ustád 'Alí — (poet, x), 87, 88.

Píshín Khátún (XIII), 264.

*Pútam, 165.

Qábúsán, 'Abbás b. — (X¹), 212.

- Qábús b. Washmgír (X²—XI¹), 20, 36, 76, 78, 86, 89, 90, 92, 225—234, 238, 257.
- Qábús-náma* (by Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús; XI²), 236.
- Qachghuz, Amír — (XI²), 243.
- Qádir bi'lláh (Caliph; X²—XI¹), 233.
- *Qádisiyya, Battle of — (VII¹), 96.
- Ibn Qaḥṭaba, 'Abdu'lláh — (VIII²), 132.
- Qá'im bi-amri'lláh (Caliph; XI), 235.
- Qá'im bi-amri'lláh (title given by his followers to Kiyá M. b. -H., *q. v.*; XIII), 259.
- *Qá'in, 258.
- *Qal'a Kamín, 264.
- Qánún* (of Avicenna), 86.
- Qard'īnu Shamsi'l Ma'áli* (by -Yazdádí), 92.
- Qarája (the cup-bearer; XII), 246.
- *Qará-Kaláta, 265.
- Qarátakín the Turk (X¹), 206, 215, 221, 223 (Mansúr —).
- Qará-Tughán (VIII²), 123.
- Qárin son of Súkhrá (v²), ancestor of the *Qárinwands*, or *House*, or *Sons of Qárin*, *q. v.*, 94, 95.
- Qárin, Alu — ("House of —"), Banú — ("Sons of —"), 63, l. 21; 64, l. 18; 153, l. 11.
- Qárin (general of the Ispahbád Khurshíd; VIII²) 116.
- Qárin b. Garshásf (XII¹), 246.
- Qárin-i-Gáwa (legendary), 18, 19.
- Qárin, Ruknu'd-Dawla — (XII²), 255.
- Qárin b. Shahriyár, Ispahbad — (IX²), 173.
- Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Qárin, Najmu'd-Dawla — (XII¹), 241, 242.
- Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Shárwín, Ispahbad — of House of Báwand, called "Abu'l-Mulük" (IX), 147, 148, 157, 166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 176, 178, 195, 237.
- Qárin b. Surkháb (of the House of Báwand; XI²), 239.

- Qárin b. Wandád-Hármazd (VIII²—IX¹), 129, 143, 145—147, 237.
 *Qárin-ábád, 116.
 *Qárin, Kúh-i —, 16, 99.
 *Qárin-Kúh, 237.
 Qárinwands, 91, 95, 237, 241.
 Qásim b. 'Alí b. H. b. Zayd, Sayyid (IX²), 174, 178, 179, 185.
 Qásim b. Muslim -Khurásání (IX²), 181.
 Qásim, Sayyid — (IX²), 238.
 Abu'l-Qásim (general of Washmágr, X¹), 217.
 Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-Azíz b. Yúsuf, 90.
 Abu'l-Qásim -Bayyá'í, Qádi'l-quḍát, 77.
 Abu'l-Qásim Hárún b. Muḥammad (IX¹), 153.
 Abu'l-Qásim -H. b. Ḥamza -'Alawí (XI¹), 55.
 Abu'l-Qásim b. H. -Sha'rání (X¹), 221.
 Abu'l-Qásim Ja'dí (XI¹), 234.
 Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far b. -H. b. 'A. -Násir (X¹), 201, 203—210.
 Abu'l-Qásim -Káti'b -Balkhí (IX²), 47.
 Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr (X²), 227, 231.
 *Qaṣrán, 14, 167, 264.
 *Qaṣr-i-Dádaqán (between Tammísha and Sári), 114.
 *Qaṣr-i-Ṭús (near Sári), 35.
 Qaṣšáb, Shaykh Abu'l-'Abbás —, 80.
 -Qaṭarí [b. -Fujá'at -Máziní], the Khárijite (VII²), 101, 102, 104.
 *Qaṭarí-Kaláda, 104.
 *Qaṭífa, 112.
 Qatírmish (XII¹), 60.
 *Qaydúm, 152.
 *Qazwín, 68, 69, 178, 179, 191, 216, 217, 220, 240, 249.
 "Qazz-ágand" (quilted armour), 145.
 Qiwám 'Alí (XII²), 254.
 Qiwám Farámarz (XII), 65.

- Qiwámu'd-Dín, Amír Sayyid — (XIV), 269.
 Qizil Arslán (XII¹), 67, 68, 72, 73, 254.
 Qubád-i-Pírúz (Sásánian king; V²), 7, 92—96.
 Qubád-i-Káwa (or Gáwa, legendary hero of Persia), 18.
 *Quhistán, 216, 231.
 *Quhsibah (reading uncertain), 28.
 Qúhyár (VIII¹), 127.
 Quhyár-i-Qárin (brother of Mázyár; IX), 151.
 *Qulzum, Sea of — (= Caspian Sea), 35.
 *Qum, 68, 77, 215, 221.
 *Qúmis (or Qúmish), 14, 28, 178, 179, 182, 185, 216, 226,
 229, 230, 233, 238, 264.
 Qumrí, Siráju'd-Dín — (poet; XIII), 258.
 Qur'án, 5, 10, 11, 13, 75, 80, 102, 108.
 Quraysh (man; IX²), 157.
 Quraysh (tribe), 70, 159.
 *Qúr-shírad, 251. It is probably identical with *Gúr-*^c
 shírad, *q. v.*
 Qutayba (VIII¹), 105.
 Ibn Qutayba, 'Abdu'lláh — (IX²), 32.
 Qutb-i-Chálúsí (XII), 80.
 Qutb-i-Rúyání (Tabarí poet; XIII), 259.
 Qutbu'd-Dín Khán (XII²), 254.
 Qutham b. -Abbás (VII), 98, 111.
 Qutlugh Sháh, Amír — (XIV¹), 262, 268.
 Qutqutí of Sári (X¹), 195.
 Rab^c b. 'Urwán (VIII²), 122.
 Raðí (X¹), 210.
 Raðí, Amír — -Sámání (X²), 226, 227, 234.
 -Raðí, -Sharif — (X²—XI¹), 109.
 Ráfi^c b. Harthama (IX²), 188—193, 238.
 Ráfi^c (poet; XI), 256.
 "Ráfíðí" (the name given to the Shi'ites by their oppo-
 nents the Sunnis or "Násibís"), 52 *ad calc.*

- Ra³is Mudhaffar (xi¹), 240.
Abú Rakáz (minstrel; viii²), 134, 135.
 Ramja Harúya (viii¹), 113—115, 121.
 *Rán-Hál, 29.
 *Rán-Kúh, 123.
 -Raqqáshí, Huṣayn b. Mundhir —, 32.
 Rashámúj-i-Shír-Mardán (x¹), 209—211, 213, 229.
 Rashíd b. ‘Abdu’lláh, Abu’l-Faraj — (x²—xi¹), 86.
 Rashídúd-Dín Waṭwát (poet; xii), 62—65.
 -Rásibí, ‘Abdu’lláh b. Wahb — (Khárijite; vii²), 102.
 *Rawá, 123.
 -Ráwandí, Abu’l-Faḍl — (xii²), 69.
 -Ráwandí, Najmu’d-Dín Abú Bakr M. (xiii), 252 *ad calc.*
 *Ray, 3, 14, 18, 19, 28, 34, 43, 44, 61, 62, 67, 68, 70,
 76, 82, 94, 95, 98, 104, 112, 117, 118, 119, 120, 126,
 128, 140—143, 149, 151, 162, 165, 178, 179, 182—
 184, 189—191, 197—200, 204, 206, 214—218, 220,
 223—227, 229, 231, 235, 236, 245, 250, 253, 255.
 *Ribát-i-Ḥafs, 185, 188.
 -Riḍá, Imám ‘Alí — (ix¹), 53, 55, 79, 144.
Abú Riḍá Ḥus. b. M. Abu’l-‘Alawí -Mámtíri (xii²—xiii¹), 257.
 Rieu, Professor —, 1.
Risálatu'l-Hunúd fi yábatu da'watí Dhawi'l-‘Anúd (by Sayyid
 Bahá'u'd-Dín -Hasan b. -Mahdí -Mámtíri; xii²), 68.
 “Romans”, 236. See *Byzantines*.
 *Rúdbár, 41, 122.
 *Rúdbár-Bálú, 266.
 *Rúdbár, Maydán-i —, 262.
 *Rúdbár-i-Núr, 266.
 *Rúdbár-Pích, 255.
 *Rúdbár-Úz, 266.
 *Rúbast, 28.
 *Rúd-bast, 82, l. 8; 152.
Rúh b. Hátim b. Qayṣar b. Muḥallab (viii²), 124, 129.

*Rúhín, Castle of —, 246.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh (*q. v.*; x), 223—225, 238.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin (XII—XIII¹), 255—256.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw b. Táju'd-Dawla Yaz-digird (XIV¹), 262, 268.

Ruknu'd-Dín شاھزاده (Shaykhu'l-Islám; XII²), 69.

Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh (XIII¹), 259.

Ruknu'd-Dín, Sayyid — of Sári (xiii), 57.

*Rúm, 35.

Russians, 199.

Rustam b. 'Alí, Sháh-i-Ghází — (XII¹), 59, 90, 245, 246, 249, 250.

Rustam b. Ardashír b. Ḥasan b. Rustam (ruler of Ṭabaristán; XIII¹), 3.

Rustam Fakhru'd-Dawla (XI¹), 228. See *Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Tálib*.

Rustam, Fakhru'l-Mulük — (XII²), 250, 252?

Rustam-i-Farrukhzád (general in command of Persian army at battle of Qádisiyya), 96.

Rustam-i-Marzubán (XI¹), 228, 230, 231, 239.

Rustam-i-Qárin, Ispahbad — (IX²), 184—187, 189, 190, 192, 193, 198.

Rustam b. Shahriyár, Ispahbad Nuṣratu'd-Dín — (xii), 60—65, 236?

Rustam b. Shahriyár, Sháhinsháh —, 3.

Rustam b. Shahriyár b. Qárin, Fakhru'l-Mulk —(XII¹), 241.

Rustam, Ispahbad Shamsu'l-Mulük — (XII²), 255.

Rustam b. Sharwín [b. Shahriyár b.] Báwand (maternal uncle of Qábús b. Washmgír; X²—XI¹), 92, 209, 225.

Rustam b. Suíkháb b. Qárin b. Shahriyár (IX²), 237, 238.

Rustam b. Zabarcán (IX²), 174.

Rustam-i-Zál (legendary hero of Persia), 14, 17, 35, 43, 97, 249 (in Persian verse).

*Rustamdár (Mel., 47, 50, 52, 54, 57, 60), 132, 261, 269.

*Rúyán (Mel., 47, 50, 55, 56, 58, 59), 1, 17, 19, 20, 28, 29, 35, 39, 60, 73, 97, 121, 123, 140, 149—151, 157, 162, 181, 182, 192, 195, 198, 200, 221, 232, 238, 241, 244, 251, 259, 261.

Rúyáni, Quṭb-i- — (Tabarí poet, XIII), 259.

Rúyáni (fabric), 118.

Rúz (daughter of Khurshid and mother of the legendary Máhiya-sar), 37.

Rúz-Bihán, Naṣru'd-Dín — (XII²), 251.

Şabbágh, Núru'd-Dín — (ambassador of Tukush b. İl-Arslán Khwárazmsháh, XII²), 68.

-Şábí, Abú Isháq Ibráhím b. Hilál — (X²), 90, 92, 223.

Sábiq of Qazwín (athlete in service of Sultán Mas'úd the Seljúq; XII¹), 66, 249.

Sábiqu'd-Dawla, Amír — (XII), 65.

Sábiqu'd-Dawla, Amír 'Alí — (XII), 247, 249.

*Sabuktagín (more correctly *Subuktigín*, see p. 279; X), 227.

*Sabzawár, 264.

Sa'^cd b. Maymún (VIII²), 123.

Sa'^cd b. Sa'^cd -Aḥwaṣ -Ash'arí (VIII¹); 12, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

Sa'^cd b. Ṭaríf -Ḥandhalí (VIII¹); 12, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

Sa'^cd b. Abí Waqqás (VII), 96.

Abú Sa'^cd Sawák (XI¹), 233.

Abú Sa'^cd -Şaydaláni, 79.

Şadaqa "King of the Arabs" (XI²), 60.

Sa'^cdí, Aḥmad — (retainer of Qábús b. Washmgír; X²), 92.

-Sa'^cdí, Abu'l-Khuḍayb Marzúq (VIII²), 120.

-Sa'^cdí, Ibn Nubáta — (poet), 90.

Abú Şádiq Hárún b. 'Alí -Amulí (IX¹), 74.

"Şáds", „The two —“ (i. e. as-Şábí and the Şáhib Isma'il b. 'Abbád), 90.

-Şaffáḥ, Abu'l-Abbas — (Caliph; VIII²), 111.

-Şafîr (or -Şayfar), Family of —, 195.

- *Safjiyya (or Safajiyya), 29.
- *Şafúh (near Amul), 150.
- Şaghániyán (or Şighániyán, or Chaghániyán), 94.
- Şáhib. See *Isma'īl b. 'Abbád*.
- Şáhibu'l-Jaysh, Sayyid Abu'l-Hus. A. b. -Násir — (x), 49, 201—202.
- Şáhibu'l-Qalansuwa, Abú Ja'far M. b. A. b. -Násir (x), 49.
- Sahl b. -Marzubán, 74.
- Sa'íd b. Da'laj (VIII²), 124.
- Sa'íd b. Jibrá'il (IX²), 172.
- Sa'íd b. Salma b. Qutayba b. Muslim (VIII²), 132.
- Sa'íd b. 'Umar b. 'Alá (VIII²), 123.
- Abú Sa'íd Bakr b. Malik (x), 224.
- Abú Sa'íd H. b. M. -Chashmí, 53 *ad calc.*
- Abú Sa'íd Khwár (Şúfi saint), 10.
- Abú Sa'íd Mudhaffar b. Ibr. (x), 78.
- Abú Sa'íd, Sultán — (XIV¹), 263.
- *Sa'íd-ábád, 39, 123, 133, 163.
- *Sa'ídí, 123.
- Sa'ídúhá (family or tribe), 95.
- Şakhr the Jinní, 36.
- Salám (Sámánid governor of Tabaristán; x¹), 197, 198.
- Salám b. Qudáma (VIII²), 123.
- Salám "Siyáh-mard" (VIII²), 132.
- Şálih [b.] Mikhráq (VII²), 101, 104.
- Şálih b. Sayyár (x¹), 214.
- Şálih b. Shaykh 'Umayra (IX¹), 141.
- Abú Şálih Mansúr (Sámánid officer; x¹), 198.
- Sálím "the Devil of Farghána" (VIII²), 126—128.
- *Şáliyán (near Lafúr), 123.
- Salm (son of the legendary Ferídún), 17.
- Ibn Salma -Qá'id of Níshápúr (VIII²), 123.
- Salmán -Daylamí (VIII¹), 106.
- Salmán -Fársí (VII¹), 70.

Ibn Ša'lik (x¹), 204, 214.

*Sálús, 28, 29. See also *Jálus*, *Chálus* and *Shálus*.

Salyán (a king contemporary with the Sásánians), 35.

*Sámta, 122.

Sám-i-Naršman (legendary hero), 41, 42.

-Sam'áni, *Nidhámu'd-Dín* — (XIII¹), 109.

Sámánid Dynasty (IX²—X²), 9, 193—197, 218—224, 226—228, 234.

*Samarqand, 32, 82.

*Sámarrá. See *Surra-man-ra'a*.

-Sámírí (opponent of Moses and maker of the Golden Calf), 9.

*Samnán, 104, 189, 196, 230, 243—244.

Sanjar (Seljúq; XII) 59, 61, 66, 80, 81, 240, 246. See also *Sinjar*.

Sanjar Sháh b. Hazárasp (XII²), 253, 254.

*Saqsín, 33, l. 26; 34, l. 1.

*Sarakhs, 167.

-Sarawí, or -Sarwí (*nisbas* from Sári or Sáriya in Mázdárán, and Sarw near Ardabil respectively: see Mr. Ellis's note on p. 274), 36, 46, 50, 79, 274.

Sarbadárs, or Sarbadáls (XIV), 264, 267.

*Sári, 16, 17, 28—31, 35, 56, 57, 59, 61, 69, 84, 98, 106, 107, 114, 122, 123, 130, 132, 140, 141, 144, 150, 152, 165—167, 169—172, 174, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 186, 189, 194, 195, 199—203, 207, 209, 210—215, 217—222, 229, 230, 241—246, 249, 254, 257, 265, 266.

*Sármám, 28.

Sásánian Dynasty (III—VII), 4, 35, 36, 68, 85, 96, 118, 155, 204.

*Sáwa, 61, 244.

*Sawád, 180.

*Sawát-Kúh, 149.

-Saydaláni, Abú Sa'íd —, 79.

-Sayfar (or -Şafîr); Family of —, 195.

Sayfu'd-Dawla, title of Sultán Mahmúd b. Subuktigín, q. v.

“Sayyid-i-Barqa’í” (“the Veiled Sayyid”, better known as *Sâhibu'z-Zanj*; IX²), 180.

Sayyids of Tabaristán (IX²—X¹), 158 *et seqq.*, 237. See also under *-Dâ'i*.

Schefer, M. Ch. —, 1, 86.

Sclavs. See *Slavs, Russians*.

Sehir-ud-Din. See *Dhahiru'd-Din*.

Seljúq, ancestor of the Seljúqs or Seljúqís (X²—XI¹), 235.

Seljúq, House of —, or Seljúqs (XI—XII), 5, 61, 66, 68, 235, 239, 240, 241, 252, 256.

Seljúqsháh (XII²), 246.

*Sha'bú-Dasht, 221.

Shafarwah (poet, of Isfahán; XII²—XIII¹), 69.

“-Sháfi’í”, “the second —” (XI), 75.

Shágird, Abu'l-Faḍl — (X¹), 217.

*Sháh-Dizh, Castle of —, in Hazár-garí (-jaríb), 185, 238:

*Sháh-Dizh (also called Dízkúh, or Qal'a-i-Atash-Kúh, an Assassin stronghold, near Isfahán), 241 *ad calc.*

Sháh Ghází b. Fakhru'd-Dawla (XIV), 269.

Sháh Ghází Rustam (XII¹), 245.

Sháh Ghází, Ustundár — (XII²), 261.

*Sháh-Kúh, 120.

Sháhnáma (of Firdawsí; XI¹), 96, 98. See also *Firdawsí* and *Mu'ayyidí*.

Shahrákím b. Namáwar, Ustundár — (XIII), 259, 261.

Shahrásán b. Asán (XII²), 249.

*Shahristána-marz, 25.

*Shahristán-i-Túsán, 22.

Shahriyár, Ispahbad — (XII²), 252.

Shahriyár-i-Andiyán (IX²), 166.

Shahriyár b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, Ispahbad — (X²—XI¹), 239.

Shahriyár b. Kíñkhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár (XII²—XIII¹), 256.

Shahriyár (relative of Mázyár, hardly his grandfather; probably his brother and fellow-hostage, who, however, is called *Sürkháb* on p. 173; IX²), 178.

Shahriyár b. Pádhúsbán, Ispahbad — (IX²—X¹), 190, 196, 198, 200, 201, 216.

Shahriyár b. Qárin, Ispahbad Husámu'd-Dawla — (X²—X¹), 3, 58, 239—244, 256.

Shahriyár b. Sharwín (XI¹), 143, 145—147.

Shahriyár b. Sharwín (X²), 220, 222, 228, 230, 231, 237—239.

Shahriyár b. Wandá-ummíd (X¹), 205, 206.

Shahriyár-i-Yazdigird (the son of the last Sásánian king; VII²), 96.

Shahriyár (Našíru'd-Dáwla —; XIV¹) b. Malik Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird, 261, 262.

*Shahriyár-Kúh, 41, 126, 213, 214, 224, 228, 229, 239—241, 243, 245, 246.

Shahr-Khwástán (VII³—VIII¹), 30, 31.

*Shaláb (or *Giláb*, or *Chaláb*, or *Chaláp*, *q. v.*), 15, 255.

*Shalanba, 28.

*Shalmiyya.

*Shálús, 40, 216. See also *Jálús*, *Chálús* and *Sálús*.

Shams-i-Al-i-Muhammad, 81.

Shamsu 'Alí 'r-Rasúl, Sayyid — (apparently identical with the above), 57.

Shamsu'l-Ma'álí. See *Qádús b. Washmgir*.

Shamsu'l-Mulúk M. b. Ardashír (XIII²), 258, 259, 268.

Shamsu'l-Mulúk Našíru'd-Dawla Rustam (XII²—XIII¹), 255, 256, 257, 261, 268?

Sham'ún b. Khudádád, 37.

Shápúr Dhu'l-Aktáf (Sásánian, IV¹), 204.

Shápúr-i-Kayús (IV), 95.

Shápúr-i-Shahriyár (IX¹), 147, 148.

- Shár, Sháh — of Ghars (xi¹), 234.
 Sharafu'd-Dawla Gustahm (xiv), 266.
 Sharafu'd-Dín, Sayyid —, 58.
 Sharafu'l-Ma'álí, 77 last line.
 Sharafu'l-Mulúk (xii²), 255, 256.
 Sharafu'l-Mulúk b. Shahriyár (xiv¹), 263, 268, 269.
 Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan b. Rustam (xii²), 61, 249.
 Sha'rání, Abu'l-Qásim b. -Ḥasan — (x¹), 221.
 Shárá (officer of the Táhirids, ix²), 183, 184.
 Sharwín, Ispahbad — Báwand (ix¹), 43, 99, 126, 128,
 129, 140—143, 145, 166, 226.
 Sharwín-i-Rustum (x¹), 196, 201, 205, 206, 213, 214, 216, 237,
 Sharwín-i-Surkháb-i-Mihr-mardán (ix¹), 237.
 Sharwín-i-Shahriyár-i-Sharwín (ix²), 238.
 Sharzíl (or Shírzíl, or Shírazíl), Ḥusayn — (xii¹), 245.
 Shátí-mází-bun (a kind of tree), 20.
 Ibn Shá'úshtí (x¹), 218.
 -Shaybání, Maṣqala b. Hubayra — (vii), 100.
 Shaykh-i-Záhid, 80.
 *Shih-dila (or Si-dila), 115.
 Shí'ites, 143, 144, 175. See also *Imáms*, *Zaydī sect*, *Ráfiqis*, etc.
 *Shínúh, Darband-i- —, 247.
 *Shírabád, 37.
 *Shíraj b. Laylá (x¹), 217—219, 223.
 *Shirásaf, 57, l. 10.
 *Shíráz, 33.
 Shír Mardí (x²), 220.
 *Shírú, 181.
 Shírúya (the Sásánian; vii¹), 96.
 Shírwánsháh, king of the Khazars (x¹), 199.
 Shirwánsháh (brother of Ustundár Hazárasp; xii²), 250.
 Shírzád b. Mas'úd (III) of Ghazna (xii¹), 58.
 Abú Shujá Fanakhusraw. See 'Adudu'd-Dawla.

Abú Shujá^c (brother of Zarrín-Kamar; XII), 59.

*Shúra, 182.

Shurát, 103, 104, l. i. See *Khárijites*.

*Si-dila (or Shih-dila), 115.

Şiffín, Battle of — (VII²), 101, 104.

Şighániyán, 94.

*Síhna (near Naháwand), 240.

Sikandar b. Malik Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird (XIV¹), 261.

Síkní (IX²), 181. See *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad*.

Símjúr, House of — (x), 208, 225, 227, 231, 234.

Simon (or Shamcún), 37.

Ibn Síná, Abú 'Alí — (Avicenna; X²—XI), 86.

Sindbád the Magian (VIII²), 112, 117, 118.

Sindí b. Sháhak (Shí'ite leader; IX), 144.

Sinjar (or Sanjar), the Seljúq (XII¹), 59, 61, 66, 80, 81, 240, 246.

Sipahsálár b. Kúrángíj (X²—XI¹), 230.

Siráju'd-Dín Qumrí (poet; XIII), 258.

Sirrí b. 'Abdu'lláh -Abbásí (VIII²), 124, 125.

*Sístán, 33, 181, 182.

Siyáh, 'Aynu'd-Dawla — (XII²), 251.

Siyáh-Gíl b. Harúsandán (X¹), 205, 207 and n. i *ad calc.*

"Siyáh Mard" Salám (VIII²), 132.

Siyáh-rúd (near Jamanú), 41, 251.

Siyaru'l-Mulük (= *Siyásat-náma*) of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk (XI²), 91, 93.

Siyásat-náma, 91, 93.

de Slane, 5, 6, 51, 106 *ad calc.*

Slavs, 40, 97. See also *Russians*.

Solomon, 36.

Spiegel, 1.

Sudám (a judge so named), 133.

Şúfís, 10, 240.

Sufyán b. Abi'l-Abrah -Kalbí (VII²), 104, 105.

- Sufyán -Thawrī, 10.
 Suhráb-i-Báw (VII²), 98, 237.
 Suhráb-i-Rustam (legendary hero), 35.
 Súkhrá (V²), 14, 94, 95, 125.
 Ibn Šukkara -Háshimí (X²—X¹), 51 and n. 1 *ad calc.*
 Šúl, Nahapets of —, 106 and n. 1 *ad calc.*, 108.
 *Sulaymán-ábád, 177, 184.
 Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. Táhir (IX²), 157, 164—173, 177.
 Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’l-Malik (Umayyad Caliph; VIII¹), 105,
 108, 109.
 Sulaymán -‘Alawí (IX²), 166.
 Sulaymán b. Músá (VIII¹), 132.
 Sulaymánsháh (Seljúq, XII²), 61, 62, 66.
 Sultán-Sháh-i-Gil (XII¹), 247.
 Sultán Sháh Maḥmúd Khwárazmsháh (XII²), 67.
 Sunqur, Amír — (XII¹), 241, 242.
 Sunqur-i-Kúchak (XII²), 244, 245.
 Surhánwaṇds, 95.
 Surkháb, Amír — (XII²), 249.
 Surkháb-i-Jastán (or Justán, X¹), 195.
 Surkháb-i-Qárin (brother of Mázyár; IX²), 173, 174, 237.
 Surkháb-i-Rustam (IX²), 165.
 Surkháb-i-Wahsúdán (or Wehsúdán; X¹), 208.
 *Surra-man-ra’ā (or Sámarrá), 26, 43, 70, 80, 161.
 *Syria, 33, 69, 75, 91, 104, 108, 109, 178, 223, 247.

 *Ṭabarák, Castle of —, 19, 20, 250.
 Ibn Ṭabáṭabá -‘Alawí, 47.
 *Ṭábarán, 123.
 Ṭabarí dialect, 24, 34, 35, 41, 60, 61, 65, 77, 84—85, 86,
 87, 88, 89.
 -Ṭabarí, M. b. Jarír — (IX²—X¹), 74, 192; Annals of —,
 26, n. 1 *ad calc.*
 Ibnu Ṭabarí, ‘Abdu’lláh — (IX), 80.

- *Tabas, 216.
- *Tafsúr, 227.
- Táhir b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. Táhir (IX), 157, 180, 181.
- Táhir, House of —, or Táhirids (IX), 29, 30.
- Táhir-i-Arrání (assassin of Nidhámu'l-Mulk, XI²), 239.
- Táhir b. Ḥusayn (general of -Ma'mún, IX¹), 143.
- Táhir b. Ibráhím b. Khalíl (IX²), 186.
- Táhir b. M. -Kátib (X¹), 206.
- *Tá'if, 111.
- Tá'ir bi-ta'yídílláh, Sayyid Ḥusayn — (X), 54.
- Tájí Duwayr ('Abdu'lláh b. -Ḥus. b. Sahl), 73.
- Tájíks, 251.
- *Tájí-wá, Mountain of —, 35, l. 16.
- Táju'd-Dawla Yazdigird (XIII²), 261, 262, 266.
- Táju'd-Dín Kiyá (XIV¹), 265.
- Táju'd-Dín Túránsháh b. Zardastán (XII²), 252.
- Táju'l-Mulük 'Alí b. Mardáwíj (XII²), 66.
- Táju'l-Mulük Mardáwíj (XII¹), 246.
- *Tálániyán, 168.
- *Tálaqán, 191, 216.
- Abú Tálib (VII¹), 48, 49, 52, 53, 124, 158, 194, 215.
- Abú Tálib, Imám-i-Mufíd. See *Mufíd*.
- Abú Tálib Hárún -Thá'ir, Sayyid — (X), 58, 78.
- Abú Tálib Yaḥyá, Sayyid — (X²—XI¹), 50, 54, 55.
- Tálish Chúbán, Amír — (XIV¹), 262.
- Talhkís, by 'Abdu'l-Qáhir (not -Qádir) -Jurjání (XI), 78.
- *Tálpúr, 99.
- *Tamashkí Dasht, 168.
- *Tamanjáda, or Tamanjádiya, 196, 222.
- Abú Tammám (compiler of -*Hamásá*; IX¹), 103.
- *Tammísha (Mel., 47, 55, 216), 16, 28—30, 56, 66, 67, 95, 106, 107, 110, 114, 122, 140, 149, 154, 179, 185, 190, 198, 201, 206, 208, 246, 255, 257, 261, 265.
- *Tanparast, 101.

- Tansar (contemporary of Ardashír Bábakán, III¹), 1, 4, 6.
- *Tantiq, Amír — (XII), 251.
- Tanúkhí, Qádí Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. M. —, 52.
- *Tápán, Maydán-i —, 61.
- *Tárdawíní, 101.
- *Tarícha (or *Turicha*, *q. v.*) 123, 165, 174, 176, 195, 221, 249.
- Ta'rīkh-i-Barāmīka*, 39.
- Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda* (by Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí -Qazwíní; XIV), 240 *ad calc.*
- Ta'rīkh -Yamīnī* (by -'Utbí; XI¹), 228, 229, 231, 234.
- *Tarjí, 166.
- *Tarsus (Tarasús), 152 *ad calc.*
- Tásh (X²), 226.
- Tatárs, 71, 96. See *Mongols*.
- Abú Tawba, Naṣíru'd-Dín M. — (XII), 81.
- Taym b. Sinán (VIII²), 129.
- Abú Ṭayyib -Mutanabbí (X²). See *-Mutanabbi*.
- *Ṭayzana-rúd (or Mayándarúd), 101.
- Tha'álíbí, Abú Mansúr —, author of *Yatimatū'd-Dahr* (XI¹), 7, 50, 92.
- Thábit b. Abí Ṣafíyya Dínár (= Abú Ḥamza -Thumálí; VIII²), 11 *ad calc.*
- Thá'ir, Sayyid Abú Ṭálib -'Alawí — (X²), 58, 78, 222, 223.
- Thá'ir, Náṣir-i-Kabír (*q. v.*) so called, 195. See *Náṣir-i-Kabir*.
- Ibn Tha'labá of Syria (IX²), 167.
- Thaqaffí. See *Yúsuf b. Umar*.
- Thumálí, 11. See above, *s. v.* *Thábit*.
- Tídá, 202.
- *Ṭíhrán, 19.
- Tíjásaf, 229.
- *Tís, 28.
- *Transoxiana (= *Má wardūn-Nahr*, *q. v.*), 105.

- Tughánsháh (XII²), 253.
 Tughá-Tímúr (XIV¹), 264.
 Tughá-Turk (XII¹), 59.
 -Tughrá'í, 'Azíz-i — (XII), 62.
 Tughril Beg b. Míká'il b. Seljúq; XI¹), 236, 239.
 Tughril I (Seljúq of 'Iráq; XII¹), 59.
 Tughril II b. Arslán (Seljúq of 'Iráq; XII²), 67, 68, 252.
 *Tukháristán, 42.
 Tukush b. Il-Arslán Khwárazmsháh (XII²), 67, 69, 204, 255.
 *Tún, 258.
 Túr (son of the legendary Ferídún), 17.
 Abú Turáb, Shaykh —, 80.
 *Túrán, 35.
 *Túrán-char, 27.
 *Turícha, 27, 28, 29, 123. See also *Tarícha*.
 Turk-i-Rúmí (IX²), 186. The same person is probably intended on p. 184, and therefore the article "the" should probably be deleted before "Turk" in lines 13 and 20.
 Turks, 7, 27, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 118, 161, 182, 204, 208, 213, 215, 219, 226, 229, 250, 251, 264.
 Turkán Khátún (XII²), 253.
 *Turkistán, 93, 96, 105, 107, 138, 201.
 Turkí-takín (IX²), 161.
 *Tús, 56, 143, 205.
 Tús (cousin of the Ispahbad Khurshíd; VIII²), 117.
 Tús-i-Núdhar (legendary hero and warrior), 16.
 *Túsán (near Sári), 16, 22, 24.
 Túsí's *Fihrist*, 11 *ad calc.*, 271.
- Abú 'Ubáda -Buhturí (IX²), 159.
 'Ubayd b. Yazíd -Kházin (IX²), 169.
 'Ubaydu'lláh, 111.
 *Ufar, 168.

Ulán-mihán (tribe or family), 95.

Uljáytú (Sultán Muhammad Khudábanda; XIV¹), 262, 263.

*Umán, 33.

*Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz (VIII¹), 12, 108, 109.

*Umar (or 'Amr) b. 'Alá (the traitor; VIII²), 120, 123, 124, 130, 131. See 'Amr b. 'Alá.

*Umar b. Bahrám [b.] 'Isá (VIII²), 123.

*Umar Fannáq (or Fayyáq; VII²), 101, 104.

*Umar b. Jurmuz (VII²), 48.

*Umar b. -Khaṭṭáb (VII), 27, 58, 96, 98, 109.

*Umar b. Sa'íd (VIII²), 122.

Abú 'Umar (X¹), 220.

*'Umar-ábád, 125, 179.

*'Umar-(or 'Amr-)Kaláda, 125.

'Umayr (servant of -Násir-i-Kabír's daughter), 58.

Umayyads (VII²—VIII¹), 7, 10, 12, 108—111, 254, l. 3.

Ummídwár b. Lashkar-sítán (IX²), 164.

*Ummídwár-Kúh, 16, 39, 40, 126.

Umm Ja'far (VIII²—IX¹), 45.

Ummu'l-Faḍl bint -Ma'mún (IX), 144.

*Umúramdúd (?), 29, l. 20.

*Umyár-Kúh, 29.

*Uqádu's-Síhr wa Qalá'udu'd-Durar (by Abu'l-H. M. -Yaz-dádí), 3.

Urmazdyár (X¹), 217.

*Urwa b. Udayya (VII²—VIII¹), 102.

*Ustúnáwand, Castle of —, 4, 231, 243.

Ustundár (title), 54, 60, 95, 221, 222, 229, 237, 246—249, 251, 259—265, 268, 269.

*Ustundáriyyá, 232.

*-Utbí, Abú Naṣr — (X²—XI¹), 91, 92, 231. See also -Tariķhu'l-Yamíni.

*Uthmán b. 'Affán (Caliph; VII), 102, 110, 254, l. 4.

*Uthmán b. Nahík (VIII²), 132.

Utrúsh, Abú 'Abdi'lláh M. — (x¹), 49, 50.
*-Úz, Rúdbár—, 266.

Valásh (or Balásh, or Walásh, *q. v.* = "Vologeses"),
99, 101, 237.

Víjan, Cháh-i— (= "Bízhan's Well"), 39.

*Vílir, 37, 38.

Wabád (or *Wamád*), 28.

Abu'l-Wadsh (IX¹), 142.

Abu'l-Wafá Khalífa b. Núh (x¹), 200.

*Wah-rádhán (near Ray), 190.

Wahrí, 223.

Wahriz (Persian general in time of Núshirwán, VI), 20,
and n. 3 *ad calc.*

Wah-súdán (or Wih-súdán; IX²), 169, 178.

*Walajúy, 220.

Walásán (family or tribe), 95.

Walásh (VII), 237. See *Valásh* and *Balásh*.

Walásh, Masmughán —, Reference lost.

*Waláshgird, 123.

Walíd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik (Umayyad Caliph; VIII¹), 105.

Walíd b. Maysara (VIII²), 123.

*Walíkán, Plain of —, 245.

*Wamád (or *Wabád*), 28.

*Wana-Bun, 125

Wandá-Hurmazd b. Alandáy (VIII²), 43, 44, 125—132,
140—145, 147, 237.

Wandarand (VIII¹), 115.

Wandarand b. Wandá-Hurmazd, Masmughán — (IX²), 178.

Wandásafán (VIII²), 131, 132, 141, 146.

Wandásafán-i-Máhyár (IX²), 165.

Wandá-ummíd (VIII²), 127, 128, 146, 171.

*Wandá-ummíd-kúh, 25, 95.

Wandawayh (IX), 190.

- *Waraka (in Láriján), 15.
 Wardán-sháh (X²), 223.
 Wardásf (X¹), 210, 211.
 Ward-i-Asfar (VIII²), 128.
 *Wárfú, 162.
 Ibn Warrám (? Darrám), Amír —, 79.
 Washmír [b. Ziyár] (X¹), 5, 20, 90, 91, 99, 215, 217—225,
 235, 238, 239.
 *Wáṣit, 180.
 -Wáthiq (Caliph; IX¹), 155.
 Waṭwáṭ, Rashídúd-Dín — (poet; XII¹), 62—65.
 Wihán b. Sahl (IX²), 164, 171.
 Wih-súdán (or Wah-súdán; IX²), 169, 178.
 Wíjan-i-Rustam (IX²), 164, 170, 171.
 *Wíma (near Damáwand), 28, 142, 191, 219.
 *Wínábád (near Sári), 172, 201.

- Yádigár, Kitáb-i — (by Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'īl b. M.-Músawí of Jurján; XII¹), 86.
 Yaghmúr b. Seljúq (XI¹), 235.
 Yaḥyá b. -Aktham (IX¹), 149, 150.
 Yaḥyá b. -Husayn, Sayyid Abú Ṭálib —, 50, 54, 55.
 Yaḥyá b. Ibráhím b. Muṣ'ab (IX¹), 153.
 Yaḥyá b. Khálid -Barmakí (VIII²—IX¹), 135.
 Yaḥyá b. Abí Manṣúr (= Bizíst b. Fírúzán; IX¹), 87, 147.
 Yaḥyá b. Mikhnáq (VIII²), 125.
 Yaḥyá -Nátiq bi'l-Haqq, Sayyid Abú Ṭálib — b. Husayn
 (see above), 50, 54, 55.
 Yaḥyá b. Rúzbihán (IX¹), 149.
 Yaḥyá b. 'Umar b. Hus. b. 'A. b. Hus. b. 'A. b. Abí
 Ṭálib (IX¹), 161.
 Yaḥyá b. Yaḥyá, Amír — (VIII²—IX¹), 17.
 Yaḥyá b. Zayd -Alawí (VIII²—IX¹), 136—138.
 Yákand (= "Hyacinth"), 116.

*Yaman, 91, III.

Abú Ya'mar (VIII¹), 107. See also Ḥayyán -Nabaṭī.

-Yamīnī, Tārīkhū'l- —, by -'Utbī (X²—XI¹), 91, 92, 231.
See also -'Utbī and Tārīkh.

Ya'qúb b. Layth -Ṣaffárí (IX²), 180—182.

Yáqút (XIII), 152, n. 1 *ad calc.*

*Yásamín-Kaláta, 262, 266.

Yathrib (afterwards called *al-Madina*), 53.

Yatīmatu'd-Dahr (of Abú Maṣúr Tha'álíbī; XI¹), 50, 257
ad calc.

“Yawmū'l-Ghadír”; 158.

-Yazdádī, Abu'l-H. 'A. b. M. — (XI), 3, 25, 27, 30, 33,
36, 39, 40, 76, 92.

Yazdán, 24.

*Yazdánábád, 21, 115, 123.

Yazdánkard (IX¹), 174.

Yazdigird I (called “*al-Athīm*”, “the Wicked”, Sásánian king; VI¹), 94.

Yazdigird III (last Sásánian king; VII¹), 96—98.

Yazdigird (son of the Isphahbad Sháh Gházī Rustam; XII²), 250.

Yazdigird, Malik Táju'd-Dawla — (XIII²), 261.

Yazíd b. Mu'áwiya (Umayyad Caliph; VII²), 48.

Yazíd b. -Muḥallab (VIII¹), 105—109.

Yazíd b. Murthad (read *Mazyad*, VIII²—IX¹), 44, 45, 129, 131.

Yúsuf b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán (VIII²), 123.

Yúsuf b. 'Umar -Thaqaffí (VIII¹), 6.

*Zábulistán, 35, 95.

Zabarqán (IX¹), 174.

Záhid, Shaykh-i- —, 80.

Záhida Khátún (XII²), 254.

-Zahrá (*i. e.* Fátima, the Prophet's daughter), 49.

Zakariyyá, Abú Bakr — (X¹), 215.

Zanakú, Mosque of —, 245.

- *Zangán, 178, 216.
 Zanj (Ethiopians), 180.
 Zanras (or Zanráshan), Abú Aḥmad —; x¹), 198.
 Zardastán (XII²), 30, 252.
 Zarhawájastán-i-Ashkálí (x²—xi⁴), 230.
 *Zárim, 120, 244.
 Zarmihr-i-Súkhrá (vi), 95.
 *Zarmíkhwást, 165.
 Zarmíwand Máníwand b. Ustundár Hazárasp (xii²), 251.
 *Zawín, 188.
 Zayd, Sayyid —, 53, l. 1, 136.
 Zayd b. M. b. Zayd (ix²), 190, 194.
 Zayd b. Ṣálīḥ (x¹), 215.
 Zaydí sect, 54, 58, 202.
 Zaynu'l-Ābidín, Imám 'Alí b. Ḥus. b. 'A. b. Abí Tálib
 — (vii²), 11.
 *Zaynu'sh-Sharaf, College of —, 55.
 -Zifrí, Abú Bakr — (x¹), 207.
Zij-i-Kámil (by Awḥadu'd-Dahr -Dánishf), 87.
Zij-i-Ma'múní (by Bizíst b. Fírúzán; ix¹), 87.
 *Zindána-Kúy, 80.
 *Zínwán (near Sári), 249.
 Ziyád b. Abíhí (vii), 102.
 Ziyád b. An'ám -Ifríqí, 10.
 Ziyád b. Házim (viii²), 122.
 Ziyár, House of — (x¹—xi¹), 20, 91, 217, 236. See also
 Washmgtr, *Qábús*, etc.
 'Zohák, Zuhák. See *Dahák*.
 Zoroastrianism, 150, 237. See *Gabr*, *Magians*, *Mázyár*,
 Sindbád etc.
 Zotenberg, 7.
 Zubayr (vii), 48.
 Zubayr b. -Mutawakkil. See *-Mu'tazz*.
 Zúma, Gunduya — (aphrodisiac herb), 40.

